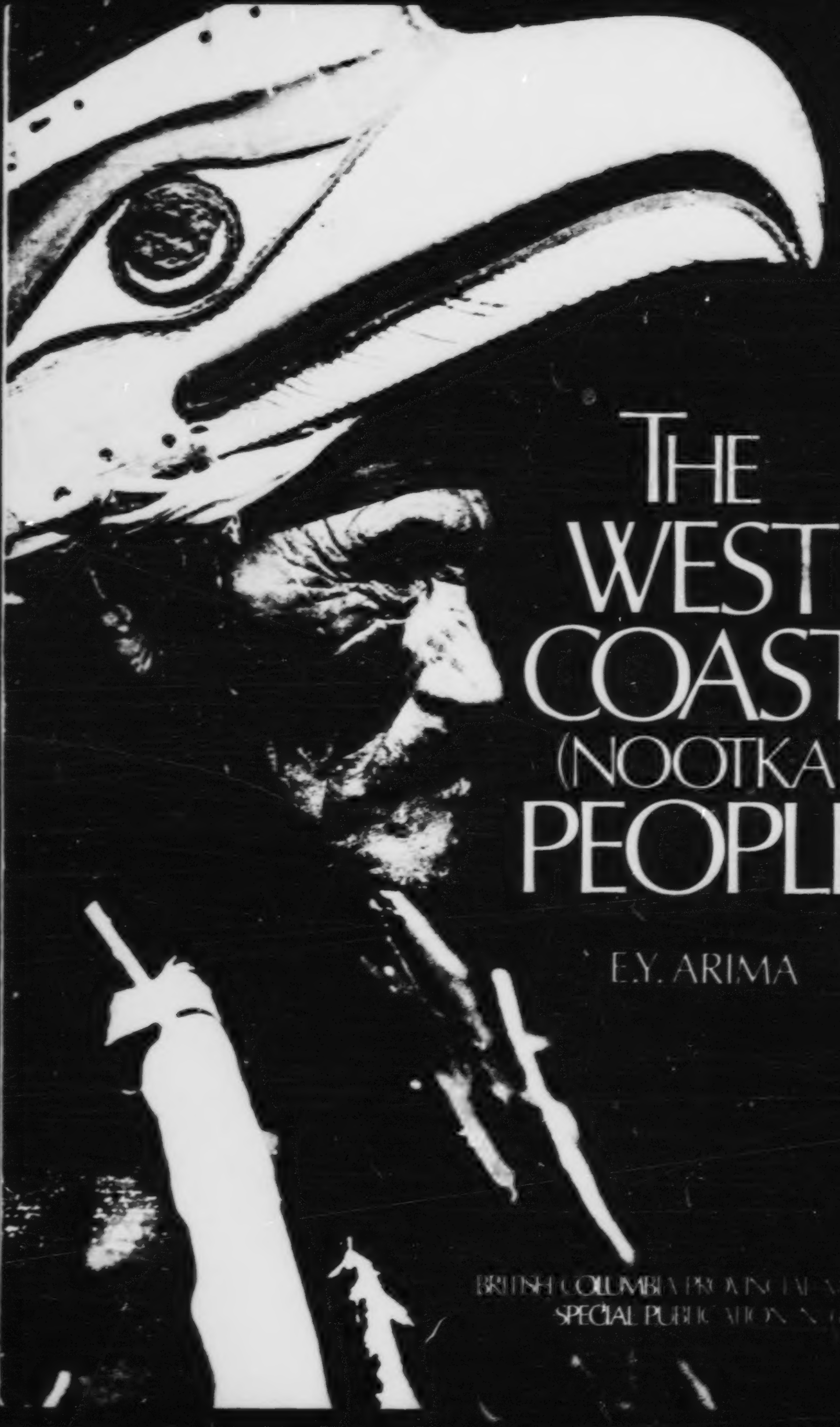

THE WEST COAST (NOOTKA) PEOPLE

E.Y. ARIMA

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM
SPECIAL PUBLICATION No. 6

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THE WEST COAST PEOPLE

A man from Friendly Cove, from an engraving of a watercolour by John Webber. (BCPM:PN 5075)

British Columbia Provincial Museum
Special Publication No. 6

THE WEST COAST PEOPLE

The Nootka of Vancouver Island and Cape Flattery

E. Y. Arima

Province of British Columbia
Ministry of Provincial Secretary
and Government Services

Provincial Secretary

Published by the British Columbia Provincial Museum
Victoria

First Edition 1983

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Arima, E. Y. (Eugene Yuji), 1938-
The west coast people

(British Columbia Provincial Museum special publication ; ISSN 0707-1728 ; no. 6)

Bibliography: p.
ISBN 0-7718-8356-0

1. Nootka Indians. 2. Indians of North America - British Columbia - Vancouver Island. 3. Indians of North America - Washington (State) - Flattery, Cape. I. British Columbia Provincial Museum. II. Title. III. Series.

E99.N85A74 971.1'3400497 C83-092106-0

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PREFACE

As the Pacific swell breaks along the shore of Vancouver Island's West Coast, there may still be some who count the waves to see which one is the biggest. For centuries men have been counting these waves, old natives sitting before their cedar-plank houses, watching the sea. "The ninth wave is the biggest," one man might say. "No, it's the seventh," another might maintain. Or the fifth, or the thirteenth; the question never was settled. There are many other details as yet unsettled about the life of the native peoples of the West Coast, but enough is known to sketch in the main forms for a popular description. I will focus attention on the more important matters, but keep in mind that West Coast life was also filled with thousands of lesser things, like wave counting, which go undescribed.

Although the West Coast people now refer to themselves as such, they formerly had no overall name because they were divided into about two dozen independent and separately named groups in the nineteenth century. The name for each group was originally taken from the name of the place in which it lived, with the suffix **-ʔatḥ** or **'-atḥ** added, which, freely translated, means "residing at", "belonging to", or "people of". (The spelling system used for native words is explained in Appendix I.) Consequently, Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, who colonized Alberni in 1860 and wrote an excellent book on the West Coast natives, called them the "Ahts", mistaking the origin of the suffix and thinking it to be from the myth character **kwatyat** whose name he wrote "Quawteaht" (1868:19).

"Nootka" and "Nootkans", however widespread, are complete misnomers for the West Coast people. They are words which arose from Captain James Cook's mistaken naming of the sound he visited in 1778 as Nootka (Beaglehole ed. 1967:308; actually written *Nookka*). A possible explanation is that Cook asked for the inlet's name but the natives, thinking he wanted to know if it continued around the island, answered **"nōtkā"**, meaning "to circle about" (*cf.* Brabant *in* Moser 1926:160). To name the people, Cook proposed "Wak'ashians", from the friendly, applauding shouts he received of **"wākāsh"**, or "bravo" (Beaglehole 1967:323). "Wakashan" has been used by linguists to identify the language family embracing the Kwakiutl and Nootka languages.

"nuu-chah-nulth", (**nochān'oɬ**, freely, "All along the mountains".) is the latest overall name, adopted in 1980 by the Tribal Council on Vancouver Island to replace the incorrect "Nootka", but how common it will become remains to be seen. Presumably it will not extend to the Cape Flattery people in the United States who have been known, since their treaty in 1855, by their Clallam neighbours' term "Makah".

My special thanks go to Chief Charles Jones and his wife Ida, my principal sources of field data; to Alex Thomas, a great native linguist and ethnographer; and to Yorke Edwards, Director of the British Columbia Provincial Museum, who carefully edited the manuscript and fostered its publication.

EUGENE ARIMA
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PHOTO CREDITS

Abbreviations used in photo credits refer to the following sources:

BCPM — British Columbia Provincial Museum (Ethnology Division)
PAA — Provincial Archives of Alberta
PABC — Provincial Archives of British Columbia
WSHS — Washington State Historical Society

CONTENTS

PAGE

- Preface v
- The Country 1
- The West Coast Tribes 2
  - Northern 2
  - Central 4
  - Southern 5
- Chapter I. Making a Living in the West Coast World 7
  - When the World Turns Around 7
  - A World Full of Spirits 8
  - Spirit Power in Hunting and Fishing 9
  - West Coast Months 10
  - Rainy Season Work 11
  - Shellfish Gathering 17
  - The Deer and the Wolves 19
  - Drift Whales 23
  - The Herring Season 24
- Chapter II. Seasons of Plenty 26
  - Spring 26
  - Raven and Black Bear 28
  - Canoes 34
  - Whaling 38
  - Hunting Other Sea Mammals 44
  - More Gathering of Plant and Sea Food 47
  - How Andaokot First Came to This World 50
  - Salmon 54
- Chapter III. Living Together on the West Coast 59
  - Villages and Houses 59
  - Dress 63
  - Social Rank and Class 67
  - Feasting 71
  - Potlatch 74
    - Kwīstox̣'s Big Potlatch 76
    - Becomes-Ten Gives a Potlatch 80
  - Kinship 82
  - Life Cycle 85
    - Childhood 86
    - Puberty 86
    - Names 87
    - Marriage 89
    - Death 92
  - Native Accounts of Social Life 94
    - Tom Marries 94
    - Captain Bill's Marriage 97
    - Tom Gives Advice to his Grandson 99

PAGE
Chapter IV. The Long Past of the West Coast People 102
  History Before Written Records 102
  Wars 103
    An Example of West Coast War 107
  The Coming of the White Man 117
  A Sample of Captain Cook's Ethnographic Observations 121
  The Sea Otter Decades 122
  Colonial Development and Loss of Independence 135
  Falling Under Foreign Influence 140

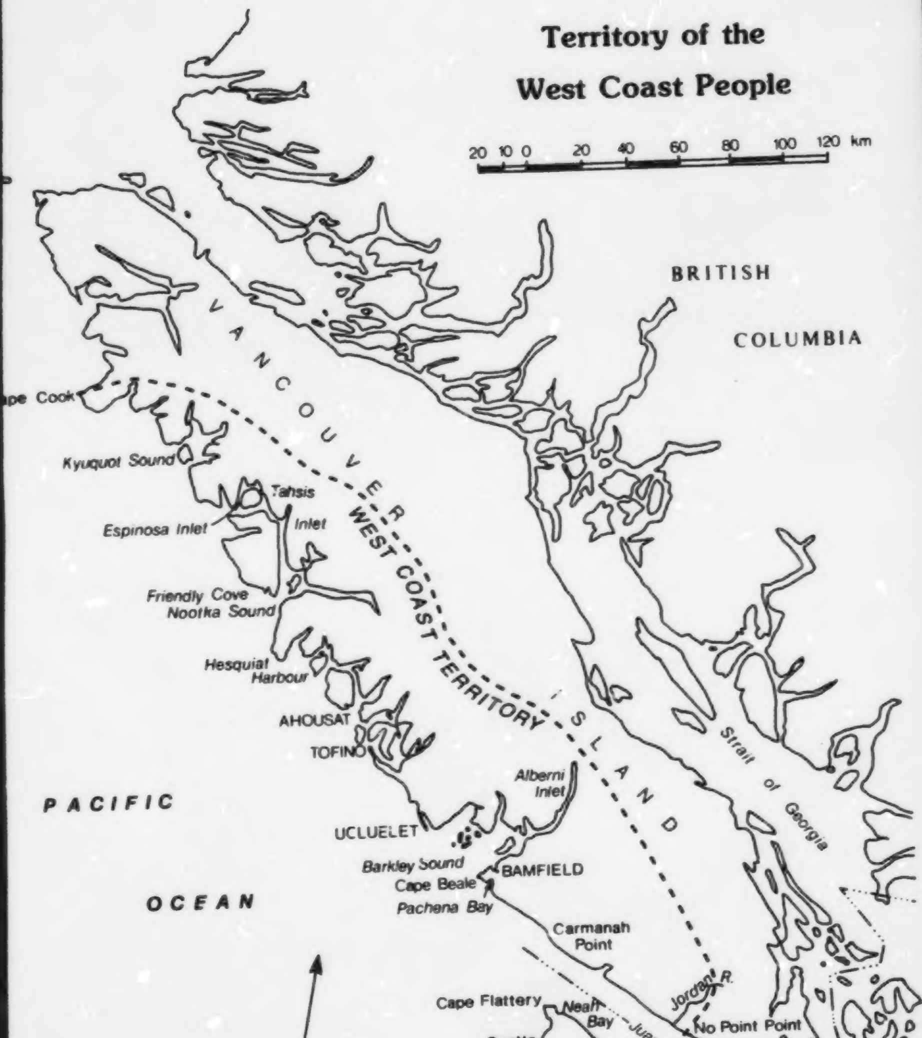
Chapter V. Spirit-filled Realms of Medicine, Ritual Societies, Art, Music and Myth 146
  Again About Spirits 146
  Sickness and Curing by Medicine Men 147
  The **tsāyiq** Doctoring Ritual Society 150
  The **tlōkwāna** or Wolf Ritual 152
  Art 159
  Music 173
  Myths 179
    How Andaokot First Came to This World (continued) 180
    How The Raven Was in the Woods for a **tlōkwāna** Dance at **Yoqwāt** 187
    Red-headed Woodpecker and the Thunderbirds 190
    "**kwatyāt's** Mother Moved, It Is Said" 192
    A Fight Between the Chiefs of the Lice and the Wolves About Hunting Grounds 194

Appendix I: Spelling Indian Words in English 197

Additional Reading 199

References Cited 200

Territory of the West Coast People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UCLUELET
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G. Doerksen 1983
Camosun College

THE COUNTRY

The territories of the West Coast tribes stretched over roughly 300 kilometres along most of the Pacific side of Vancouver Island, in a northwest-southeast direction from Cape Cook to Glacier Point, with a southward spur of about 50 kilometres across Juan de Fuca Strait that takes in the Cape Flattery region as far south as Ozette. Their country was a rugged coastal strip dominated by the Pacific Ocean and backed by the steep peaks of the Island Range. Along the major inlets the people ranged far inland, particularly on the Alberni Canal which extends well over half way across Vancouver Island. With the great warm Black Current flowing by offshore, the climate was mild for the latitude but the water, inshore, was very cold. When the warm air blowing off the Pacific from the west met this cold current and the high coast, its heavy charge of moisture condensed into fog, cloud and rain, constant features of West Coast weather. Annual precipitation there is commonly 300 cm or more, producing a luxuriant northern rain forest. Dense growth on land made travel on foot difficult; it was much easier to travel by canoe. On the other hand the forest provided ample wood for native wants, including the exceptionally useful red cedar.

The West Coast country was rich in fish, shellfish, and mammals and birds of land and sea. Much plant food also existed with berries, shoots, and roots in season. By hunting, fishing and gathering, the people lived well with no need for agriculture. Although land resources were important, the bountiful sea provided the mainstay of life. Salmon, herring, cod and halibut were the main fish caught. From the tidal shore, clams, cockles, mussels, oysters, barnacles, chitons and sea urchins were harvested. Whales, porpoises, sea-lions and hair (or harbour) seals were the big game of the sea. With these there was also the sea otter, with its precious pelt. Ducks, geese, swans and cormorants were among the bird life utilized, while in the forest grouse were easy to approach. On land the main game animals were deer, elk, and black bear. Smaller mammals taken included mink, marten, otter, and raccoon. While wolves and cougars could be found they were more important in mythology than as food. Commonly eaten plant food included the berries of salmonberry and thimbleberry plus the tender spring shoots of the plants. Salalberries, blackberries, cranberries, gooseberries and huckleberries were also eaten, as were the roots of clover, skunk cabbage and the rhizomes and fiddleheads of ferns, the bulbs of camas and the inner bark of hemlock, all mainly in spring and summer.

People tended to concentrate on the more sheltered bodies of water in bays and inlets or behind islands, with a general seasonal movement between large winter villages "inside" and smaller camps "outside" on the more open coast in summer when it was relatively calm. The salmon streams running into the inlets were focal points for the formation of local groups in villages of varying size while the inlets tended to be natural geographical units for further association into tribes and even confederate alliances of tribes under the pressures of warfare (*cf.* Drucker 1951:6; Sproat 1868:10, 303).

Radiocarbon (C-14) dating reveals that the West Coast people have occupied their land for at least four thousand years (Dewhirst 1977). Over this time they have been conservative, their tools and presumed ways of living changing very slowly. Fishing has probably always been the primary livelihood. Woodworking was likely well developed early, judging by old tools like chisel and adze blades, wedges, hammerstones and abraders that are remarkably similar to recent ones but found in a strata dated 2200–1000 B.C. (Dewhirst 1977: 13-17). While both sea and land mammals were always utilized, their exploitation increased over time as hunting gear improved.

The West Coast people exploited their rich resources with well-adapted equipment and techniques; but before these are discussed, the people should be introduced by tribes and confederacies in the way they identified themselves.

THE WEST COAST TRIBES

Although the West Coast people shared a common way of life, they were not united as one nation but divided into many major groups which may be called tribes and confederate groupings of tribes. Each tribe was made up of smaller local groups centred around chiefs and their families. Over time, tribes changed as all human groups do, forming, growing or waning, and lasting for various periods. Traditional memories take some groups back perhaps two or three centuries, or farther, but more-or-less full knowledge of all West Coast tribes and confederacies dates from about the mid-nineteenth century. Earlier historic records from the late eighteenth century mention many of them. The coming of western civilization with its guns seems to have made warfare more intense, increasing the formation of confederations by alliance and conquest. Over 20 major groups are known from the first half of the nineteenth century, but only 16 have survived into the second half of the twentieth century as politically separate, officially recognized "bands". Through diseases and warfare the West Coast population fell from about 15,000, late in the eighteenth century when Europeans arrived, to a low in the 1930s of about 2,000 (See figure 1). Since then the population has been increasing, passing 4,000 in the 1970s.

In the outline that follows (mainly after Drucker 1951: 222–41), the names of the tribes and confederacies are given first (most, but not all, rendered with help from Alexander Thomas, Randy Bouchard and George Louie). The common English spellings which follow these names are only approximations, even for the currently "official" names of governmentally recognized bands, which are given in capitals. Such official spellings have changed repeatedly over the past century of administration and may be expected to continue to do so until a consistent system is established.

Northern

The **ch'ìqtlisˀatħ**, CHICKLISET, is the tribe of Ououkinsh Inlet where there were five salmon streams. Their winter village was at **ˀìqwos**

A Westcoast scene, photographed by E. S. Curtis in 1915. (PABC:E-879) and a summer one was at **ʔapsowis**. Their territory extends from Cape Cook to the beach opposite Whiteface Island. The tribe has moved to live with the Kyoquot and is no longer recognized as a separate band.

The **qāʔyōkw'ath**, KYUQUOT, now an officially recognized band, is an old confederacy of four tribes made up of 14 local groups, each named after its salmon stream in Kyuquot Sound. The four tribes are **qanōpittakamɬ**, **shaw'isp'atḥ**, **qwixqwōʔath and tl'āʔāʔath** with their winter villages at **māx̣k'īt**, **shaw'isp'a**, **qwix̣qwō** and **hōpsitas**. In summer they all lived together at **aqtīs** where there were 27 houses arranged to conform with their winter settlement pattern. Kyuquot territory runs from Whiteface Island to Rugged Point.

The **ʔīḥatisʔatḥ**, EHATTESAHT band, is a confederacy of three tribes: **ʔīḥatisʔatḥ** of Zeballos and Espinoza Inlet, **haʔwihtakamɬatḥ** of the outside coast, and **chinax̣nit'atḥ** of Queen's Cove, where all have now concentrated. The old summer village of the confederacy was at **t'achō** Point.

The **noch'āɬʔatḥ**, NUTCHATLAHT band, is a confederacy of several groups with its summer village at the north of the mouth of Nutchatlitz Inlet. The tribal winter villages were inside the inlet and at Port Eliza and Espinoza Inlet whose lower part was occupied by the **ʔīḥatisʔatḥ** confederacy.

mowach'atḥ, MOWACHAHT (formerly NOOTKA), is a confederacy of Nootka Sound formed by two tribal groupings, the **mowach'atḥ** uniting six local groups of Tlupana Inlet and **kōptī** composed of eight local groups in the Tahsis Canal. The confederacy came together each summer at **yokwāt** in Friendly Cove where the village traditionally had 13 houses.

The **machɬāʔatḥ** or **machɬāth**, Muchalat, is a tribe which developed in historic times from survivors of wars involving perhaps seven local groups on Muchalat Inlet and Gold River on the east side of Nootka Sound. In the 1890s they moved to **yokwāt**, and in 1935 joined the MOWACHAHT band, amalgamating with them in the early 1950s.

Central

The **ḥishkwīʔatḥ**, HESQUIAHT band, is a tribal merging, in historic times, of four or five local groups from Hesquiat Harbour. They dispersed in the second half of the twentieth century, moving mainly to Port Alberni.

The **mān'oʔisʔatḥ**, Manhousat, is a local group on Sidney Inlet which joined the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** in this century.

ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ, Otsosat, was a large tribe on Flores Island and the inlets behind it until it was practically wiped out in warfare against the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** early in the nineteenth century.

The **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ**, AHOUSAHT, is a large tribe, originally of Vargas Island and the mainland behind it, which killed off the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** and took over Flores Island.

qiɬtsamaʔatḥ, Kelsemat, is a tribe on Vargas Island whose men were lost fur sealing in the Bering Sea late in the nineteenth century, leading to union with the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** (John Dewhirst pers. comm.).

The **tlaˀŏkwiˀatḫ**, CLAYOQUOT, is a tribe from Kennedy Lake which, through war, came to dominate Clayoquot Sound. From about the time when Europeans arrived and they obtained guns, the **tlaˀŏkwiˀatḫ** eliminated or subordinated at least eight other groups in the region. Opitsat on Meares Island is the tribal village. They were renowned for fine canoes.

The **yŏłoˀiłˀatḫ**, UCLUELET, is a tribe from the southwest corner of Barkley Sound on Ucluelet Inlet and Long Beach. Shortly after contact with the white man, the **yŏłoˀiłˀatḫ**, in wars, took Effingham Inlet from the **ḫach'ăˀatḫ** and Namint Bay on Alberni Inlet from the **nam'intˀatḫ**.

The **t'okw'ăˀatḫ**, TOQUAHT, is a tribe of Toquart Bay, Mayne Bay and the western part of Barkley Sound, reduced by warfare by the mid-nineteenth century (Sproat 1868:104). The **t'okw'ăˀatḫ** were joined in the nineteenth century by the **m'aˀaqōˀatḫ**.

The **ḫŏchoqtlisˀatḫ**, UCHUCKLESAHT, is a tribe on Uchucklesit Inlet which runs north from near the entrance to the Alberni Inlet. They once claimed the eastern end of Barkley Sound and the outside coast up to Tsusiat River, dominating the **hŏ:ĭˀatḫ** tribe.

The **ts'ishăˀatḫ**, SHESHAHT, is a tribal amalgamation of the **ts'ishăˀatḫ**, **ḫach'ăˀatḫ**, **hikŏłˀatḫ** and **măktlĭˀaiˀatḫ** of central Barkley Sound (Sapir 1910–12). Not long before the Europeans arrived, the first three groups forced their way up Alberni Inlet. The **ḫach'ăˀatḫ** also killed off the **ˀaˀotsˀatḫ** of Effingham Inlet and the **t'om'aktlĭˀatḫ**, and reduced the **măktlĭˀaiˀatḫ** in numbers.

The **hōpach'asˀatḫ**, OPETCHESAHT, is a tribal amalgamation of three groups on Sproat and Great Central Lakes, the Somass River and the Alberni Inlet down to Hell's Gate. The **tl'ikŏtˀatḫ**, **m'ōhŏłˀatḫ** and **ts'ŏma:asˀatḫ** appear to have been Coast Salish people who were displaced by the three **ts'ishāˀatḫ** invading groups mentioned above and who adopted the West Coast language and ways (Sapir 1910–12).

The **hŏ:ĭˀatḫ**, OHIAHT, is a tribe occupying eastern Barkley Sound which was joined, before the arrival of the Europeans, by the warfare-reduced groups of the **kĭx̧'iniˀatḫ**, the **ch'imataqsoˀatḫ** from just east of Cape Beale and the **:an'atl'aˀatḫ** of Pachena Bay. The **hŏ:ĭatḫ** took the San Mateo Bay region from the **hōpach'asˀatḫ** (Sapir 1910–12).

Southern

The **dĭtĭdătx̧**, NITINAHT, is a big tribe from around Nitinat Lake which includes the **w'ăyˀătx̧**, **tsaqqōˀispătx̧**, **tl'ăniwătx̧**, **tsox̧kwădătx̧** and **naˀoˀwătx̧** (Sapir 1910–12). In the middle of the twentieth century the **tlŏˀŏwisˀătx̧** and **qw'ăbădowătx̧**, listed below, have been governmentally incorporated into the NITINAHT band. Also the band village has been moved to Cowichan Lake.

The **tlŏˀŏwisˀătx̧**, Clo-oose, is a tribe on the Cheewhat River east of Nitinat Lake with territory on the coast from Clo-oose to Carmanah Point.

The **qw'ăbădowătx̧**, Carmanah, is an independent local group on the coast in a bight between Carmanah and Bonilla Points.

"Tait-tats-toe", a **ts'ishāʔāth**, photographed by Charles Gentile about 1864. (BCPM:PN 4814)

The **p'āchīdātx̣**, PACHEENAHT, is a tribe centred on San Juan Harbour, once numerous but reduced to a fraction of its former size by disease. Its territory is from Bonilla Point to Glacier Point, including Jordan River, or **dītīdā**, home of the original vanished **dītīdātx̣**.

The **qw'idishchīˀatx̣**, MAKAH (a Clallam name), of Cape Flattery with major groups at **dīyā**, or Neah Bay, **tsuez**, **waˀach** and **bihida**. The last was abandoned by the mid-nineteenth century and, in the ensuing reservation period, everyone gradually concentrated at **dīyā**. The **qw'idishchīˀatx̣** also lived in summer on Achawat, Warmhouse and Shi-Shi beaches, and on Tatoosh Island (Riley 1968:58). Other West Coast peoples called them **tl'āˀasˀatḥ**, or "outside coast people".

The **ˀosīɬˀatx̣**, Ozette, the most southerly tribe of the West Coast peoples, were about 25 kilometres south of Cape Flattery. In the reservation period they gradually joined the **qw'idishchīˀatx̣** because their children were forced to go to boarding school in **dīyā** or Neah Bay (Ibid.).

Although 24 West Coast groups are named in the foregoing list, several of them confederacies of a number of tribes, it is apparent that before Europeans brought in the historic period there were even more politically distinct units, twice as many perhaps. Details of these older groups are unfortunately sparse and largely forgotten.

Chapter I. MAKING A LIVING IN THE WEST COAST WORLD

When the World Turns Around

To see a little of what it was like to make a living in the West Coast native world, we must try to learn something of how the people perceived their world as well as how they used their skills and equipment. While, as a whole, the West Coast people extended over several hundred kilometres of coast and knew of many other native peoples between Alaska and California, most of them as individuals were usually concerned only with their tribal area and their immediate neighbours. They were not aware of the earth as a planet with all its diversity, nor that it circled the sun. They thought the world was a flat disc on a pole, or at least the Central tribes around Port Alberni did (Boas 1891:596).

Time was conceived as an ever-repeating annual cycle. In December, to determine when the winter solstice happened, the wise old men sat outside the big cedar-plank houses each dawn to watch the sun come up at a slightly different place on the horizon each day as it moved toward a known solstice mark, such as a certain tree on a mountain ridge (Arima, unpub. field notes; Drucker 1951:115, 156). When the sun reached that mark, it rose in the same spot for four mornings, the "sacred" number of times, then began moving back again along the horizon. If the sun did not quite reach the mark, it was "bucking the wind", and there would be a bad stormy winter. If it went past the mark, there would be good salmon runs that year.

At the solstice, owls suddenly appeared in the house, and a perfume in the air made everyone fall asleep as if doped. Thereupon, with four thunder-claps the world turned around, **kwatkwacht**, backing up so that the sun moved back again, making the days grow longer and repeating the seasons. At the moment of the reversal, the water suddenly rose in a great flood tide, up to the edge of the bed platforms as everyone slept except for a fortunate few who saw it and gained luck, then quickly went down again without a trace. The summer solstice was also noted, and may have marked another backing up of the world since a Spanish observer, Moziño, in 1792, records the months as beginning with July (Moziño 1970:62).

A WORLD FULL OF SPIRITS

As may be gathered from how the West Coast people thought the year repeated, their world worked in ways supernatural to us. In most undertakings, for success, they had to have power to control the spirits involved. They prayed for power, especially to four great spirits, the four chiefs of the Above, the Horizon, the Land and the Undersea (Curtis 1916:45; Drucker 1951:152). Early European observers noted a Supreme Spirit in the sky, at least for the **mowach'atḫ** of Nootka Sound, whose name was known only to the chiefly as **kāˀōts**, "Grandchild" (Jewitt 1815:120, 171; Moziño 1970:26). His country, up above, was always calm, sunny and warm with plenty of everything, a West Coast paradise where chiefs and those slain in battle went at death (Sproat 1868:14). This great Sky Spirit controlled the salmon and other resources so the chiefs prayed to him on behalf of their followers. There was also a poor underground country, ruled by **"pin-pu·la"**, where there were no salmon, the deer were very small and the houses inferior, the afterworld for commoners and slaves (Moziño 1970:28-9; Sproat 1868:213). More recently the Moon, called **hopał**, "round", or **kāˀōts**, was known as the greatest spirit and prayed to by all. The Moon and his wife, the Sun, **n'ās** (N. dialect) or **d'āx** (S.), were good protective spirits. Some stars were named spirits too.

Weather phenomena had some interesting explanations that were general among many Northwest Coast natives. Thunder was the flapping of the wings of the Thunderbird, **tota** or **tˀītsk'in**, a huge man on a far off mountain who put on an eagle-like costume to hunt whales. His belt was the lightning snake, **hiˀitl'ik**, which when dropped flashed down to earth. The Thunderbird also caused hail. Snow fell when a big Sky Dog scratched himself letting mange scales fall. Fog came out of the kneecaps of the Crane. The Southeast Wind of violent storms was the farting of an old man and, since in myth, some animals and birds tried to make him stop, their songs were sung to bring calm weather. Rainbow was once a man. An eclipse happened when the Sun or Moon was swallowed by an immense Sky Codfish (Drucker 1951:155; Jewitt 1815:165).

Under the sea, not far offshore, was a great house with the Salmon People in one half and the Herring People in the other, representing the main food sources of the West Coasters. Rites were performed to honour them. If these were neglected, the Salmon and Herring People would become angry and dangerous. Also in undersea houses were the Whales and Hair Seals. Killer Whales could come out onto the land, turning into Wolves; neither were dangerous, more likely being friendly. Other fantastic sea beings included giant sharks which could swallow dugout canoes, huge but harmless squids, and the sea giantess **kapchā** who slowly floated up with very long hair streaming all about. To pull out one hair for a charm brought riches, but to see her face brought death.

The forest, dark and mysterious, held many supernatural beings, of **ch'īḫā**. The **ya:ī** spirits, who were often in a supernatural canoe, resembled men but had head feathers. They could give power for doctoring, whaling, riches, ceremonial display making, and songs. The tall, shaggy, red-skinned **ch'īnīʔatḫ** chased people with spears. Bristly giants with fangs and claws, the **matloḫ**, shouted so loudly that people were forced to the ground (Moziño 1970:27-28). To meet either the **ch'īnīʔatḫ** or **matloḫ** brought the right to depict them in dances. Men who nearly drowned and then were lured deep into the woods by flickering fires became the fleet-footed and malevolent **pokmis**. Doctoring power came from shaman Squirrels, Minks and Ravens who sang and shook tiny rattles over old rotten logs which writhed and groaned on the ground. Also, one might find a Right Hand sticking out of the ground shaking a rattle which gave medicine power; a Left Hand meant death. Many more strange beings were in the forest. There were headless, mallard-like birds, birds with human faces, the shadowy souls of the trees who could kill those who glimpsed them. There were small snakes that jumped into the openings of the body. And there were dwarfs who enticed people to their homes inside the mountains to dance. This dance resulted in "earthquake foot" a sickness which soon lead to death. High on the mountains in caves were the especially strange and powerful supernatural Quartz Crystals, **hīnā**, swaying back and forth while emitting a weird humming sound. They could fall like meteors from the sky, landing like lightning bolts. These were the small crystals that most important chiefs had as hereditary treasures to be displayed at ceremonies.

SPIRIT POWER IN HUNTING AND FISHING

To be successful in hunting and fishing, a West Coast man had to be very careful not to anger the creature he was after by being contaminated with what he believed to be unclean things that they could smell (Sapir 1921:351). The worst of these was a woman who was pregnant or in her period. As one result of this belief, the canoe used for hunting at sea was carried down to the water to keep it from touching rotten things on the beach or places where an unclean woman had passed. Also, to keep the animals from knowing too clearly what was going on, the activity was talked about indirectly; hunting fur seals, for example was spoken of as "gathering driftwood" and the seal as "the one that sits yonder under a tree" (Ibid.).

More positive ways to succeed in a spirit-filled world included the use of magic amulets or charms worn on clothing or put on equipment, or hidden in houses or the forest. All sorts of things were amulets but mainly bits of strange creatures like blind snakes, crabs and spiders. Often obtained during a vision quest when a person sought to meet a spirit, these amulets were kept secret to keep them powerful. Mysterious remote places, like the depths of the forest, the open sea, an island or a mountain peak were where spirits were commonly met.

The main way to achieve success in undertakings, or health and long life, was the purificatory bathing ritual, **ʔōsimich**, featuring fasting, continence, staying in cold water, scrubbing the body with bundles of twigs and other substances, and praying to the Sky Spirit or Moon. **ʔōsimich** bathing removed the smell of the warm, sweaty human body which was so disliked by the spirits. It was done while the moon was waxing and days were lengthening, commonly for four nights but often for much longer, even over weeks and months. Many people did **ʔōsimich** each month as a routine practice for general luck and well-being. For particular goals, the ritualist used special secret plants for rubbing, with, songs, prayers, and sometimes figures of the game sought, made of wood or twigs, imitating the activity for which the ritual was designed. Each family had its own secluded bathing spot, in a creek pool or in the sea, and its own set of inherited and newly acquired supernatural techniques. Bathing for long periods in the very cold sea was so taxing that the ritualist commonly took along a relative in case he was overcome and needed help. The training toughened the body against exposure and cold but could be overdone, causing illness or even death.

Power from the spirits had to be properly cared for by observing tabus to keep them satisfied. When fish and game were obtained, they were well treated to honour and please their spirits so that after reincarnation they would let themselves be taken again. Keeping in mind that spirits prevailed in virtually everything for the West Coast people, we may go on to the physical techniques of making a living in the framework of the annual round, listing first the lunar months.

West Coast Months

The West Coast months differed a little between groups. Also the lunar units do not coincide exactly with our own, of course. The "Northern and Central" column below is roughly correlated to our months as in Drucker (1951:115-16), but Sapir (1910:12:I, 202) is a month later, relating the first Elder month, for example, to December instead of November. According to Drucker, the native month began with the first quarter of the moon, but Sapir notes the beginning coincides with a new moon. Month length could vary apparently. The "Southern" names were supplied by Chief and Mrs. Charles Jones of Port Renfrew.

Northern and Central

m'am'īqso, "Elder", November.

qałātik, "Younger", December.

Southern

b'ab'īqs, "Elder", January.

pākwischis sabał "Canoe drifting up sideways", February.

pałisabał, "Sparkling",

wīyaqhamł, "No food getting for a long time", January.

ʔaxhamł, "Bad weather", February.

ʕitāmił, "False" spawning, February.

ʕāyaqamił, "Herring spawn", March.

hōʔoqamił, "Flying flocks", April.

t'āktlāt'aktlimił, "Stringing" berries on grass, May.

ʕāsitsamił, "Wasp", July.

sāts'amił, "Spring salmon", August.

hink'ōʔasamił, "Dog salmon", September or **ch'īyāqamił**.

ʔitsosimił, "Rough sea", October.

March.

ʕitābał, "Lying" weather, April.

hōʔoqwabał, "Flying flocks", April.

qawashpł, "Salmonberry", May.

tl'iḫapax̣pł, "Red", June.

tl'ōp̓ichḫats, "Warm", July.

k'ayītsapaxpł, "Salalberry", August.

ch'īyāqabał, "Cutting fish", September.

qālalox̣, "Quarrelling" weather, October.

kwatkwacht, "Backing up", December.

The months listed in 1792 from the **mowach'atḫ** by Moziño (1970:62) correspond closely to those in the "Northern and Central" column but with **ʔinkw'achimił**, "Burning", being substituted for September, the month when trees were felled by burning them through at the base. Seasons were distinguished as follows in Central West Coast:

tl'aqshi, "Starts growing", early spring.
tl'ōp'ichḫ, "Warm", late spring to early summer.
ʕay'īchḫil, "Approaching fall", later summer.
ʕay'īchḫ, "Leaves fall and rot", fall.
ʕīchḫatōʔis, "After all the rotten fish float back down", later fall.
ts'oʔichḫ, "Washed clean by rain and snow", winter (in Southern dialect **wīx̣pał**, "Bad weather").

(Sapir 1910–12:I, 208).

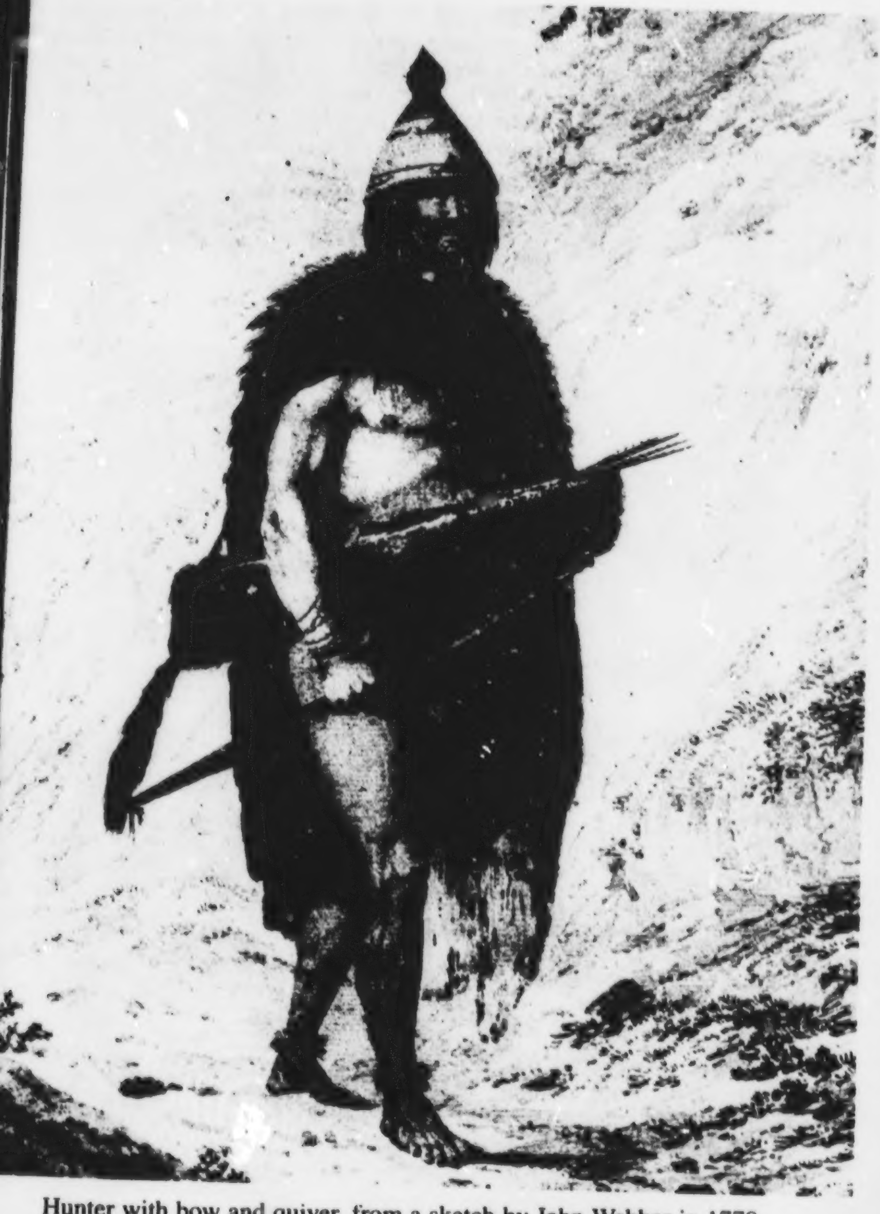
RAINY SEASON WORK

The annual round with its economic techniques and gear, drawing on the good accounts of them by Drucker (1951), Koppert (1930a), Swan (1870) and others, gives a picture of seasonal activities. By the time the bad weather of late fall and winter, with constant rain and frequent storms, set in, about November, the West Coast people had moved to their "inland" tribal villages up the inlets except for a few who only had villages "outside" on the open coast. When it was pouring and blowing, it was nicer to stay in the big cedar houses feasting on the stores of autumn salmon and enjoying entertaining ceremonial affairs. But when the weather was not too stormy, men still fished, for cod mainly, while women gathered clams and other marine invertebrates. On land, winter huckleberries could be picked until December, and there were deer, elk and bear to hunt or trap as well as smaller fur bearers for trimming cedar-bark robes and, especially after the White man came, to trade.

Some of the more interior groups, like the **machɬatḫ** of Gold River and **hōpach'asˀatḫ** around the head of Alberni Inlet, depended much more on land game and hunted a lot in winter. Deer, **mowach** or **ʾātosh**, and elk, **tl'ōnim**, were the principal land game. They were shot from blinds, caught in deadfall traps, or run down in deep snow on snowshoes. Guns, at first muzzleloader flintlocks, came into use as European and American traders came on the heels of Captain Cook who visited the area in 1778, but the traditional land weapon, also used on water for fowl and sea otter, was a bow of yew, **mōstati**), four to six feet long. Its arms were about an inch and a half wide by the grip, tapering to the tips, with a flat belly or string side, while the back was rounded, becoming ridged toward the tips. The sturdy round grip was usually wrapped with cedar bark to enclose the hunting medicine for good aim. Some bows had recurved arms while others were a simple D-shape. The bowstring was of strong, braided, whale sinew or seal gut. Arrows, **ts'īḫati**, were of cedar or yew with shafts two feet long and feathered with duck, gull or eagle feathers. For land game, as well as for war, triangular points of thin, sharpened bone or shell, later iron and copper, were loosely fixed on the shafts so that they would detach after hitting and work into the running animal. In shooting, the bow was held horizontally, palm up, and the arrow was drawn to the chest between the thumb and index finger in the primary release. Quivers, rectangular wooden boxes or cylinders, were used in canoes but on foot these were too heavy so arrows were carried in the hand or in the belt. Even bears were killed with the bow and arrow, the intrepid hunter waiting on a high rock or other elevation by the trail to shoot down into the heart at close range. There were also weaker bows of dogwood that were mainly used by boys who, in winter, loved to shoot the little birds that sheltered beside the houses when their overhanging roof planks kept off rain and snow.

Elk were sometimes run down and lanced in deep snow by **machɬatḫ** hunters wearing moccasins and simple oval "bearpaw" snowshoes with frames of vine maple, strung with elk hide straps, just two or three lengthwise and two crosswise. After a heavy snowfall, the hunter, often with a younger relative to help, set out with a heavy yew lance about six feet long with a sharpened point which was hardened by fire, oiled and polished to penetrate well. When a band of elk, or deer, was found, it was followed and half driven to an area of deep drifts. Throwing off his robe, the hunter naked and free ran on his snowshoes after the elk who floundered and soon tired. Catching up, the hunter drove his yew lance into the heart, sometimes getting more than one elk in extensive drifts before sitting down to wait for his assistant to bring up his robe.

A deadfall trap, **ɬōchīs**, would be set across a game trail with the fall-log raised at one end by a loop of line to a support pole above (*see* Drucker 1951:33 Fig. 11). This top support pole or lever was held up near the raised end of the fall-log by a pair of posts with a crosspiece on top, while its other end was held down by a line to the trigger pin held by tension under the fork



Hunter with bow and quiver, from a sketch by John Webber in 1778. (BCPM:PN 5101) of a stick staked horizontally a little above the ground. From the pin two trip lines were strung across the trail, diverging to the correct spacing. When a line was struck, it pulled the trigger pin from under the forked stick, releasing the top lever, and the fall log, thus crushing the deer, bear, or whatever creature had stumbled into it. Size varied, of course, according to the game. For bear, commonly the black bear, **chims**, the fall-log was weighted heavily with several logs piled with stones. Often the fall-log was set up over a windfall as a bed log and guided between two trees. Planted guide posts were left unused for a year to let the ground firm-up around them. Deadfalls for bear were commonly set to the side of a trail with a baited trigger enclosed by a strong fence to force the animal to go under the fall log. Small deadfalls were used to trap fur bearers like mink, **ch'āstimts**, martin, raccoon, **tlapisim**, and beaver, **ˀat'ō**. The bait was protected by an enclosure of stakes. A stick, on which a platform of cedar splints rested, held the trigger pin on the inside of the trap. When the animal stepped on this platform, the pin was released bringing down the deadfall. With a deadfall the skin was not damaged.

Another trap, used for elk by Southern tribes on Vancouver Island at least, was a pitfall with sharpened yew stakes set in the bottom. Although this account of hunting began with land animals, it should be kept in mind that, aside from groups far from the coast, like the **machɬatḥ** of Gold River and **hōpach'asˀatḥ** around the head of Alberni Inlet, before guns made their hunting easier, the West Coast people ate such animals infrequently. Also, although it is not described here, the West Coast way of thinking of the animals and their hunting in terms of their being spirits should be noted. One small example of such thinking is that, when hunting deer, the animal was not called "deer" but "tree knot", **tl'ochqa**, in the belief that this confused the animal.

To go codfishing, kelpfish and perch were caught first for bait. Kelpfish, **sōma**, about a foot long, were caught in globular traps woven of cedar withes called **hopy'ak**, "with a round hole". For use, these traps were soaked to allow the narrowed neck to be pushed inward. Stones and cracked mussels were added for weight and bait respectively. A float, made of the inflated stomach of a cod, was tied to each trap with a fathom of line. The traps were then set out to drift with the current across a kelp bed. When a kelpfish was brought into the house, the bearer was supposed to act humourously with it, causing laughter. The round trap was regarded, at least in the twentieth century, as a really old-time thing that no family should be without.

Perch for bait, **kwītch'ak**, were caught in a rectangular enclosure of stakes interwoven with branches, built between the high and low tide and baited with broken mussels. The perch swam in at high tide and, at low water, were left stranded inside. To catch cod, the fisherman used a sharp-angled hook with a shank of spruce root to which a barbless point of bone or hardwood was bound with nettle-fibre string. The leader was of nettle fibre too while the main line was of long kelp stems tied together with pairs of simple hitches, the standard West Coast fishing line. The hook was baited

A man spearing fish from a canoe, photographed by E. S. Curtis in 1915.
(PABC:D-8339)

with kelpfish or perch. An oval stone sinker was tied on where the line joined the leader, and a float of the stomach of a cod was tied on to hang the hook at the right depth. Various species of cod were caught, including the common **toshkōh**, a red cod **wānoł**, and black cod **qamaḥ**. Often just a kelpfish on the end of a line with no hook was used, for the cod swallowing it would not easily let go and could be pulled up to be clubbed or speared from the canoe. Some men liked to get black cod with an ingenious spinner lure with two vanes which was shoved down deep with a pole five or six fathoms long, then freed (Swan 1870:42 Fig. 24). As it rose, spinning, a cod might follow it up to the surface to be speared with a salmon harpoon or to be scooped up in an oval dipnet (Drucker 1951:25 Fig. 7). Cod could be lured up with just a shiny stone on a line. A live anchovy or herring could also be used (Sproat 1868:230).

The ever-present supernatural aspect of West Coast undertakings was evident in a multitude of specific and very detailed beliefs and observances which cannot all be fully described for lack both of complete information and of space. But, as an example related to fishing, a kit of rubbing substances for use in ritual bathing to remove uncleanliness which would offend the fish spirits has been recorded from a Central tribe and may be described here (Sapir 1910–12:VI, 46). The fishing medicine kit consisted of four bundles wrapped individually and carried in a double-woven bag. The first was for salmon trolling and contained a milt sac from the right side of each kind of salmon wanted. Each sac was dried and wrapped in shredded cedar bark. The reasoning behind this was that milt was the milk fed to young fish by the males so that its smell was recognized by the salmon and attracted them. The second bundle, for cod and halibut, contained the sharp part from under the chin, which is the best place to hook the fish, from ten different fishes—several species of cod, bass, halibut, dog, coho and tyee salmon. These were dried and put into a sea-lion's throat sack and tied around four times with hemlock root. The third bundle, containing the dried right halves of four young kingfishers, was tied with ferns, which are always used to clean salmon, and then wrapped in spruce root. The last bundle consisted of four sets of woodpecker heads and tails bound with hemlock twigs and then wrapped in spruce root. Kingfishers were used because they are good at fishing; woodpeckers because they are the headbirds of all the small birds and with them you will be ahead fishing. For use in the **ˀōsimich** bathing ritual, the bundles were soaked so that the juices of their special substances came out. They were then rubbed hard on the hands that would handle the fishing gear. For fishing, the ritual might be done for a month before the season and again before setting out, while the moon was waxing. To store the bag of fishing medicine bundles, it was kept hung where the fisherman slept, not left lying on top of some box where a supernatural being passing by could take away the power. Nor were women to see or handle the rubbing bundles. Finally, if before setting out the fisherman dreamed about the dead, it was a bad sign, warning him to stay home.

SHELLFISH GATHERING

Marine invertebrates, mostly shellfish, were a secondary but important source of food, especially in winters when bad weather restricted fishing and hunting. With rich shellfish resources, the West Coast people rarely starved even in times of scarcity. An excellent study of the use of marine invertebrates among the **mān’oˀisˀatḥ**, *Teachings of the Tide* by David W. Ellis and Luke Swan (1981), provides much of the present information.

Shellfish could be gathered almost the year round except when, in some summers, there were “poison tides”. Nor were shellfish gathered when the herring were spawning in March because they sucked in the herring milt and became milky and were poor eating. Some kinds of shellfish are best in summer, like butter clams and barnacles; others are good in spring, like chitons. And some places have more or better quality or kinds of shellfish than others, of course. Women were the main gatherers of shellfish but men helped as well, especially in winter when the lowest tides are at night. Equipment was variable but common forms can be described.

For clams, a digging stick, **chīty’ak**, of yew or wild crabapple was used. This stick was about three feet long and three fingers wide with a tongue-shaped blade about one finger wide which was often hardened by boiling in water and oil. It could also be used for prying seafood from rocks but for this, the best tool was a much shorter, slightly curved, prying stick, **kw’ōkwy’ak**, with a wider blade that was as thin as practical. What was gathered was carried in a strong openwork pack-basket, **qaˀōts**, of red cedar withes bound together with split spruce root winding around their intersections. A load of clams could be very heavy, and a tumpline, **maqsātim**, of tightly woven cedar bark was used around the brow. Clams could be kept alive a few days in a basket immersed in the sea. A woven cedar-bark sack, slung over the shoulder, was preferred by the men. Because shellfish expel water, a back protector, **łiḥtkiyapma**, of yellow cedar-bark matting was worn. Another mat was used to kneel on while digging.

Butter clams, **y’aˀisi**, were among the most important shellfish gathered. At a bed, usually in a sheltered beach, a hole was dug and chipped away to the side to bring out the butter clams. They were most plentiful on the lower levels exposed by the lowest tides. In winter, since low tides were at night, the men went clam digging by the light of a torch, **hichy’ak**, a cedar splint three or four feet long stuck in the sand with a burning lump of cedar bark and spruce pitch held in its split end. Several torches were taken along to be lit in turn. Butter clams were almost always cooked, either by steaming, **n’ochˀā**, roasting, **māsmās**, on hot coals beside a fire, or briefly boiling, **nīs**, in a red-cedar cooking box. The water in the box was kept boiling by dropping red hot rocks into it using wooden tongs. For steaming, a pit was dug and lined with rocks. A fire was built in the pit and allowed to burn down. Excess ashes were removed and a lining of salmonberry leaves or ferns was laid down. The food was then set in place and the pit covered with more leaves and mats. Water was added to make the steam. When clams were steamed or roasted, each was laid on the side to keep the juice inside, both to cook the clam and to sip later as a broth. They were dipped in oil to eat, especially when roasted—a process that left them drier. The black siphon tip was always cut off.

Also called "butter clams" today on the West Coast are the smaller littleneck clams, **ḫichin**, which are usually eaten raw. The big, horse clam, **!amǐq**, is often buried deeply and was thought difficult to dig because it burrowed down fast. For eating, horse clams were usually steamed. The large shell was used as a ladle and as a cup for fish broth. The razor clam, **kaka!is**, was collected at the lowest spring tides in shallow water where their "eyes", the siphon tips, could be spotted. Native oyster, **tl'ox̣tl'ox̣**, the purple-hinged rock scallop, **tl'ǐḫaw'achi**, and the cockle or scallop clam, **hôpisi**, were other shellfish gathered. Cockle collecting was interesting. Finding them by their "eyes", you poked the sand beside them with a stick with a flattened tip, which the cockle bit on. It was fun to do from a canoe. Cockles were usually eaten raw. Two were smashed together to break one. Sometimes for fun one held a cockle in half a shell to watch the "pointer", **k'opy'ak**, the foot, move about and point at someone coming. Oyster and rock scallops were eaten steamed or boiled.

Mussels were often eaten. They were always cooked by roasting, steaming or boiling, though not too long lest they become tough. Gills and hair were always taken off before eating. They are poor eating when the herring were spawning and, during a summer "poison tide", could be deadly. Otherwise, they were gathered the year round. The blue mussel, **kw'ots'im**, usually found in more protected waters, sometimes was brought up on a branch on which it grew densely, and was roasted en masse. The large California mussel, **tl'och'im**, was taken with the prying stick from certain little islands. Its shell, as much as eight inches long, was used as the cutting blade for chisels, adzes, knives and harpoon heads.

Goose barnacles, **ts'a!inwa**, were pried off rocks at certain places only, being considered, like the big mussel, to be improved by repeated harvesting. They were best in winter and were cooked. Other barnacles, **tl'ân'oł**, were only occasionally eaten. They were best in summer when the bigger ones, **tl'imḫin**, were eaten steamed. To pick a barnacle, the prying stick was pressed to its base and given a sharp blow with the palm. Other creatures taken off rocks with the prying stick were limpets and chitons. Limpets, **ḫoḫoʔa**, were occasionally eaten raw or steamed. Black chitons, **ḫay'istôp**, were also eaten both raw and cooked, after the back plates and insides were removed. They were tough in winter but tender in spring. In May and June, the women used to feast on them. The giant red chiton, **p-a!im**, a name that brought a smile, was very tough. Only young people with good teeth ate it raw. It was cooked in water, brought almost to a boil, or pit-steamed for about an hour. To be edible, chitons had to have eight back plates, at least among the **mân'oʔisʔatḫ**. Abalone, **!apsy'in**, where available, were taken with the prying stick and usually eaten raw.

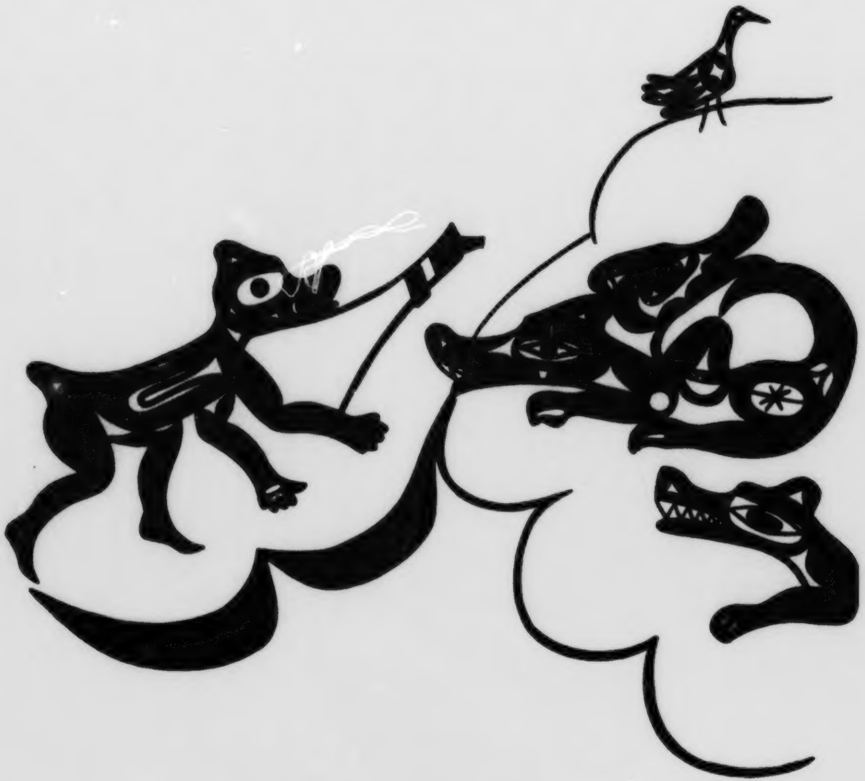
Sea urchins, or "eggs", were collected in a number of ways. The green or brown ones, **nôschi̍**, could be picked by hand on a very low tide but more often were taken using a canoe and a long-handled, nettle-fibre dipnet, **ts'imi̍ḥtama**, with a hoop of cedar withe about 18 inches wide and a straight, front edge. Giant red sea urchins, **t-ots'op**, were skewered from a canoe with the sea urchin spear, **t'otsḥtâ**, a red cedar pole two or three fathoms long with two to four sharp prongs of yew lashed on. In winter when low tides were at night, the eggs of the red sea urchin could be speared by feel where they were abundant and the man knew the ocean bottom. Purple sea urchins, **ḥi̍x**, were extracted with the prying stick from their small holes in tide pools in the rock. Sea urchins were cracked open at the mouth, cleaned of weeds and guts, and the five gonads were scooped out and eaten.

Sea anemones, **k'inɬimts**, were gathered usually in spring with the prying stick. They were steamed and, if offered one, you had to eat it all or be a widower. Sea cucumbers, **tâˀinwa**, could be picked by hand on flat beaches at low tide. On steeper shores, a long pole was used with a cross stick to drape the animals over. The head was usually bitten off and eaten raw. The body was scraped clean of its slime and eaten raw or boiled. Dungeness crab, **hasâmats**, was skewered with the sea urchin spear or a single-pointed spear. It was especially speared on the low spring tides. Often the crab hunter in his canoe wore a visor of red cedar bark to see better but still needed good eyes to spot his quarry 15 or 20 feet down. The starfish, **qasqi̍p**, was not eaten.

THE DEER AND THE WOLVES

To the West Coast people living creatures were not just what they appeared to be but were also characters in myths, talking and acting like people, each with a certain personality. As an example, and to remind us that such creatures were more than food to these people, here is a well-known West Coast story of the Deer and the Wolves in which Deer foolishly insults the Wolves (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:24–26):

> Deer was out fishing with hook and line one day when the weather was fine. While he was there at Deer-standing-on-the-point (a place), the Wolf people were moving. They passed by Deer and he said,
>
> "It's a fine day that you're all moving in your canoe, you big-nosed bone-eaters" saying this last part in a lower voice.
>
> This is what Deer said. And another canoe-party would pass by where he stood fishing, and still another would move by, and
>
> "Is that you, young Deer?", said they who were moving in their canoe.
>
> "What are you doing, young fellow?"
>
> "I am standing fishing with my hooks", said Deer.
>
> And then another canoe-party moved by.
>
> "You people in the canoe are having fine weather", said the Deer again.



Deer insulting the Wolves. (Painting by Tim Paul)

"What is it that you are saying, young fellow?" again said they.

" 'You people are having fine weather as you move in your canoe', is what I was saying."

"Oh, that is not what you were saying."

"It's what I said", said Deer once more, and

"Oh, the bone-eaters, big-nosed ones, the eaters of dead bodies!" he added in a lower voice.

"What did you say, Deer?"

"I said, 'You people are having fine weather as you move in your canoe'."

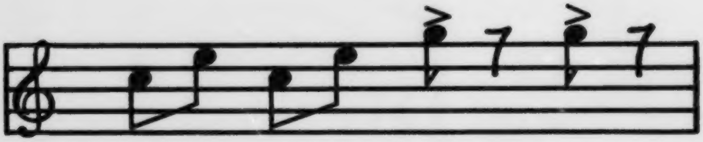
"That is not what you said. 'Big-nosed ones' is what you were saying."

Now truly it was the chief of the Wolves who was moving with his people in a canoe, bound for Maakoa. And then they took Deer along with them and he journeyed in the same canoe as the chief of the Wolves. They arrived at Maakoa. Deer had not his wife with him, and the chief owned him, but Deer retained the little canoe which belonged to him.

Now they settled down in the house when it began to get dark. It had not been dark long when the chief became sleepy, so he said to Deer,

"Come, now, and put me to sleep first of all, come and sit here at my side while you keep on filing so as to lull me to sleep."

And Deer took his file and started in filing, and as he did so, he sang,



"Sleep, sleep, yoy, yoy!"

"Sing a little louder, my friend", said the chief. "I am falling asleep, my friend."

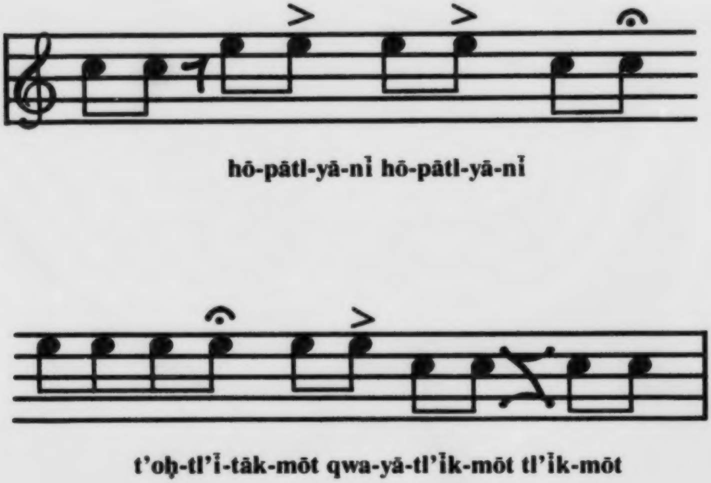
"Lie comfortable", said Deer, "just let your head tilt back a little more."

And Deer started in to sing again,

"Sleep, sleep, yoy, yoy!"

and, as he sang, he kept on filing his mussel-shell knife.

The chief of the Wolves fell asleep. The chief was asleep with his head tilted back. Then Deer took his knife and cut off the head of the Wolf chief. He jumped out of the house, carrying the head with him. And then he seized his little canoe which had been left on the roof of the house. He started off in the canoe with the head placed at the very end of the bow, and away he went. Deer sang,


hō-pātl-yā-nī hō-pātl-yā-nī
t'oḫ-tl'ī-tāk-mōt qwa-yā-tl'īk-mōt tl'īk-mōt

"Round thing in the bow, round thing in the bow,
The former head of the former Wolf!"

And then she who had been the wife of the dead chief of the Wolves awoke, having becoming aware of something wet under her. She thought that her husband was wetting himself.

"Wake up! Here you are wetting yourself!"

He did not speak. She felt for his face but she discovered that to her fingers there was merely the feel of a hole on top.

"Wake up, all of you! Here you are with a chief whose head is cut off."

They knew that it was Deer who had killed him. And the Wolf people were in an uproar and they had a council to decide on what they should do.

"Well, let us cause him to be lost in a fog. You people go and borrow the fog-bag of Crane."

So they borrowed it from Crane and made a fog. Deer was lost in the fog and turned around. He started back, and, as he pursued his course, he sang,

"Round thing in the bow, round thing in the bow,
The former head of the former Wolf!"

These were his words as he sang on his way. They heard that it was Deer. The Wolf people got ready on the beach. Truly Deer returned to his starting point. He arrived on the beach and got out of his canoe. And then he took up some of the sand.

"Goodness, but you look like the sand of Maakoa! Imaks! I have a chamber for you here in the canoe" (Imaks was his wife's name), but just as he said this, they jumped on him and chewed him up.

"Aha! Go ahead, all of you, and leave but my intestines", said Deer before he was torn to pieces. And this is why the Wolf people are in the habit of leaving only the intestines when they devour their kill.

Story-telling was a well developed art. Notice the lively dialogue which in the original West Coast speech often has characters talking in their own special ways. Also songs are sung within the story at times. Actions are motivated as in real human life. Insults are serious attacks on prestige (which was all important) so Deer is made a slave for insulting the Wolf chief. Taking his head is typical fighting action. As for the fog that fools him, everyone knew that it was kept in a bag by Crane.

DRIFT WHALES

Whales die and float about, buoyed up by the gases which quickly form inside them. A drift whale might be found at any time whether in the sea, in which case canoes hurried out to tow it in, or ashore, which happened more in the stormy winter season (Drucker 1951:37-8). The carcass belonged to the chief who owned the sea or beach area where the whale was found, or to him who owned the rights to drift whales, which could be held separate from ownership of territory. The West Coast people were particular about the ownership of all kinds of property and disputes of ownership often arose. Such a valuable, yet chance, thing like a drift whale, **hôn'ī**, floating on the waters, where boundaries were poorly defined, was particularly prone to rival claims. When ownership was established, the chief took his special piece first, the saddle of the back near the fin. Then other chiefs of the village took their pieces of the blubber which was highly valued and usually good even if the meat was rotten. Followers of the chiefs took their pieces for them. Other choice parts owned as chief's rights were the tongue, lower jaw, flippers and flukes. Men swarmed over the carcass to butcher it. The smell was very strong. A piece of blubber was taken by attaching a line through a hole cut in it so, while one man pulled, another cut the fat from the meat. At times there were loud arguments over pieces and accidents when knives slipped. Afterwards came feasting and festivity.

The West Coast people believed a drift whale did not happen by chance but came because a chief had done magic ritual of a special kind best described by an example from the **mowach'atḩ** given by Drucker (1951:171-72), as follows:

> This chief had a shrine on an island in Jewett's Lake near Friendly Cove. His ritual was to bring herring and to cause dead whales to drift ashore. The shrine contained images of men and supernatural beings, made of brush, and rows of skulls. For 4 nights the ritualist bathed, rubbing his body with branches, and entered the shrine to pray. The next 4 nights he waded around the lake. He took 4 steps, then spoke a formulaic prayer. An assistant followed him on shore. The duty of the latter, it is said, was to note when the chief became so cold he could not speak properly, and to make him return home. Neither might eat or sleep for these 4 days. The ritualist's place in his house was screened off by mats . . . There was a wooden drum set up which his assistant beat all day while the chief sang. His ritual lasted 4 waxing moons. Whenever someone died shortly before or during his ceremonies, the chief stole the body, or had his assistant steal it. The relatives of the deceased often went to great pains to hide it but were usually unsuccessful for, by spying, bribing members of the burial party, or some other means, the ritualist usually learned where the corpse had been placed. He sent two men to get it and hide it elsewhere. These men had to bathe and remain continent for some time to avoid harm. When the time came, the ritualist and his aides transported the corpse to a place on the outside beach. The chief had with him a heavy maul, a sharpened stake of yew, and a tube made by removing the pith from the stem of a certain bush. The body was laid face down over a stone. One of the assistants held the stake at the back of the corpse's neck just below the base of the skull, the other held the maul ready. The chief prayed, then gave the signal to strike. The stake was driven through transfixing the cervical vertebrae and coming out in the corpse's mouth. Failure to drive it through at a single blow brought bad luck. The stake was removed and the tube inserted in the hole. While the assistants held the body erect facing oceanward, the chief, standing behind the corpse, shouted through the tube, asking that whales drift ashore.

The Herring Season

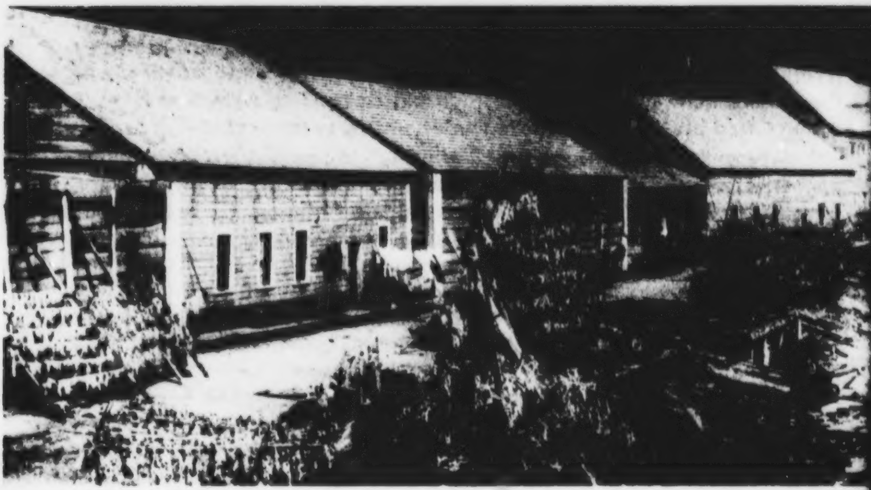
About the beginning of February, just when food stores from the previous year were running low, the weather grew less stormy and the herring, **tlosmit,** began appearing near the coast. People moved from the winter villages up the inlets to spring camps farther out. Big, moving canoes were rafted together in pairs, by poles lashed across their bows and sterns. House planks, removable from the main framework, were put on in a layer or two, lengthwise or crosswise, leaving the ends of the canoes open for the paddlers. Cooking could be done on the planks with fires built on a bed of split green wood or bark covered with sand or gravel. The people could live on the canoe raft, moving in easy stages from place to place, living off the land. At the major camps there were house frames on which the planks were attached for the roof and walls. Possessions were well adapted to a life of annual movement according to the seasons.

When the herring came, the spring salmon of the sea, **sōḥā**, also appeared in large numbers, feeding on them. These springs were trolled for with sharp-angled hooks baited, of course, with herring. As he paddled, the troller held the line in his hand, moving the hook along jerkily. When a spring was hooked, it had to be pulled in carefully for the hook was barbless. Only enough for immediate eating was caught since it was forbidden to keep springs overnight.

When the herring came, the fishermen set out to sea or an outer inlet, two or three to a small canoe, watching for the gulls that hover over schools of little fish when they are near the surface. The sternman paddled violently to excite the fish and get them closer together. At the right moment the bowman lowered his dip net of fine-meshed, nettle-fibre string into the circling school. This dip net, **ts'ichitl**, was a long, tapered bag with a four-foot square mouth, hung on two cross sticks attached to a pole, 15 feet long. Also used was the simple but efficient herring rake, **ch'itxwīy'ak** (?), a long cedar pole an inch and a half thick set with a row of sharp bone pegs for a yard at the end. The herring raking, **chochā**, was done by the sternman wielding the pole like a paddle, impaling fish on each stroke and shaking them off into the canoe. Great quantities of herring were taken. They were eaten raw, broiled on sticks near the fire, or boiled in rectangular wooden vessels using hot stones to heat the water. Many herring were also cleaned, split and dried, either indoors over the fire or outside in the sun. After about a week they were stored in boxes.

Around March, the herring roe, **k'oms**, could be seen loosening inside the fish signalling that spawning was about to being. Unless it was an early and light "false spawning" for about a day only, the herring spawned for several days. Spawning fences of large hemlock and spruce boughs, or little trees, were set out underwater where it was about 15 feet deep at low tide. The boughs were weighted with stones and fastened by lines to floats of cedar logs. After the spawning, the branches with their thick coating of eggs were taken out, cut into smaller pieces and hung on poles to dry in the sun. After several days the herring eggs were dry. They were then stored in boxes where they would keep for eight months or more. To prepare the dried eggs for eating, they were soaked overnight, boiled, and sprinkled with whale oil for a sauce (Koppert 1930a: 70-71). When possible the seaweeds and sea grasses, with the herring spawn attached, were gathered as well, cut with a knife tied to a pole. About the end of the herring season, a seaweed, **hashquits** (?), was gathered for its roots, to be eaten raw, using a long pole with two cross sticks to twist among the plants and to pull them up (Drucker 1951:42).

Since herring spawn at different times in different coves, the season lasted a few weeks with spawning fences being built in a number of places.



Halibut and herring spawn drying at a village near Port Albion, opposite Ucluelet. The racks in front of the houses support boughs covered with herring eggs; those at the left, against the house, include strips of halibut. (BCPM:PN 1176)

Chiefs owned the coves so commoners needed their permission to set fences in them. For this, they paid a part of the harvest as tribute. The great quantities of herring taken, their prized eggs, and the fact that both could be preserved by drying, made the fish a main food resource, next only to salmon in importance, at least among the more northern groups. So, in mythical terms the Herring People and Salmom People lived under the sea in the same house. Like the salmon, the first herring of the season were honoured with a respectful welcoming ceremony.

Chapter II. SEASONS OF PLENTY

SPRING

In the Flying Flocks moon (April) waterfowl travel north along the West Coast. In stormy weather they come into deep coves and inlets for shelter. When they did, the hunters went out at night, two to a canoe, with a six-foot square net of nettle-fibre string stretched between two crosspieces on a pole about 12 feet long. A fire was lit on a sand-covered board across the stern behind the steersman who paddled holding a rod in his mouth from which hung a mat. The waterfowl were bothered by the light when the canoe came up in the dark, so they would swim to the shadow cast by the mat. When they had gathered, the bowman cast the net over them. With the right conditions, a canoe could soon be filled with ducks, geese, or swans

Halibut fishermen returning to Neah Bay, Washington, photographed by E. S. Curtis about 1914. (PABC:D-8340)

(Drucker 1951:34, 42-3). Firelight hunting was also done with bird spears 10 to 12 feet long with three or four barbed prongs (Swan 1870:48 Fig. 34). Where ducks wintered, they could be hunted any stormy night. If the weather was not stormy enough to drive them in, canoes went out with the hunters in them hidden by fir boughs. These canoes circled well out to sea and drifted in on the ducks which usually swim just outside the breakers. The hunters then shot the birds with arrows, often requiring several shots before making a hit (Swan 1870:48). Chiefs observed ritual for stormy weather and dark nights when they owned the coves and inlets suited for netting or spearing by firelight (Drucker 1951:174). Ducks included Mallard, **nāḫt'ach**; sawbill, **tsâpin**; butterball, **ts'ik'ints**; and Harlequin, **wâts?ish** (sawbill = merganser; butterball = Bufflehead. Ed.).

Halibut fishing also began in April for men whose chiefs owned the grounds. Bait, commonly octopus, **tĭlōp**, had to be obtained first. Octopus was found at low tide in cracks and caves, stabbed with a barbed pole to mark its movements and poked with another sharp pole until it came out or was killed. Tentacles, skinned and split, were tied over the lower arm of the special, curved, halibut hook **chimôn**. Being made of the dense heartwood of hemlock, fir or balsam, the hook sank in water. This type of hook was also used to catch ling cod, black cod, red cod, red snapper, dogfish, bullhead, skate and even octopus (Arima 1975:86). The fishing line, **sanap'aɬ**, was of long kelp stems that had either been washed up on the beach by storms or cut loose with a knife on a long pole. The stems were tied together, thick end toward the hook, with paired single hitches. For halibut, **p'ōʔi**, the line was made about 30 fathoms long because the halibut banks are at 15 to 20 fathoms. Banks were located by using landmarks as reference points. Fishermen set out early to be on the banks at dawn before the wind came up.

Halibut were caught in three main ways. Hand lining was done where they were abundant and bit quickly. In the past, a single hook was used on the line but recently, to catch more for commercial sale, a pair of hooks, held apart by a spreader pole several feet long, has been used. On the Swiftsure Bank, four men in a big canoe could get over a hundred halibut in a morning by hand lining.

A second method was to anchor over a bank and put lines out from a pair of poles angled out over the sides in the front of the canoe, plus, perhaps, a third pole over the stern. This could be done by one man in a small canoe.

The third and most complex method was drift-line fishing in which the lines were attached to a float made of a seal bladder with a bigger marker bladder several fathoms up the length. Allowing for wind and current, the fisherman set out his drift lines one by one, perhaps up to a dozen or more if he had an assistant, so that they drifted over the halibut bank. When a hook was taken, the smaller first float moved or was pulled under, in which case the larger marker-float remained in sight. The halibut was then pulled up, clubbed with a heavy yew club with a ball-shaped end, and slid into the canoe. If the fish was a big one, the canoe would be tipped to the water-line to slip it in. An interesting thing about halibut fishing was that the smaller hooks caught big halibut while the bigger hooks got small ones, and no one knew why (Chief Jones, pers. comm.).

RAVEN AND BLACK BEAR

There is a good story about halibut fishing by Raven, **qo'ishinm'it**, that clever rascal, and the slow-witted Bear, **chims**. Again the plot hinges around a concern for prestige when Bear is afraid to go home without catching any halibut because he would be laughed at and be terribly ashamed. With that favourite story character Raven involved, a lot of fun follows in this version of the myth collected by George Hunt (Boas 1916:900-03).

> Raven was one of the chiefs of the **mowach'atḥ** tribe. One day he met his friend Black Bear. When they met, he said to Black Bear, "Will you go out to fish for halibut, for we have no food to eat?"
>
> Then Bear said, "Yes, I will go with you if you will promise to take good care of me."

Halibut drying on Tatoosh Island off Cape Flattery, Washington.
(Thomas Burke Memorial Museum)

Raven said, "Why, what harm can I do to you? You are four times larger than I am. It is your place to take care of me, for you have greater strength than I have."

Bear replied, "That is so. Let us be going now!"

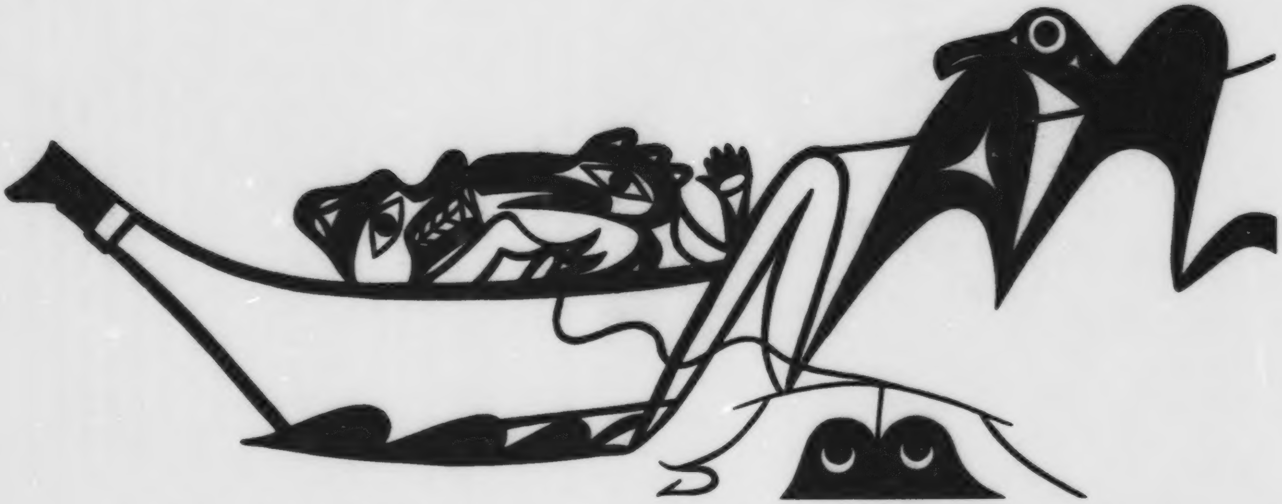
Raven told him to get his halibut fishing-line; and Bear went into his house, got his halibut fishing-line, and took it down to the beach. He also had a piece of octopus for bait, and he put it into Raven's canoe. Then he told his friend Raven that he was ready;

"For," said he, "my paddle and my halibut fishing-line are in your canoe."

Raven took his halibut fishing-line and his paddle from the corner of his house and went down to the beach, where his canoe was. Then Bear went to the bow, and Raven sat in the stern. They paddled out to the mouth of Muchalat Inlet. Here Raven said to Bear,

"We are far enough out; I will let go the anchor; we will stay here anchored while we are fishing," and he put the anchor overboard.

After he had done this, he turned his face toward the stern of the canoe, away from the bow, for he did not want Bear to see him putting



Bear to Raven: "What have you put on your hook for bait . . .?" (Painting by Tim Paul) the bait on his hook. Bear took his halibut hook, put a piece of octopus on it, and fastened the hook to his line. Then he put the two hooks on the spruce-pole crosspiece, tied the stone sinker to the middle of the crosspiece, and threw it over the side of the bow. Raven did the same to his line, only Bear did not see what he put on his hook for bait.

As soon as Raven's hook reached bottom, he got a bite, and hauled up his line. There was a large halibut on it. He took his hook out of the fish, and then threw the hook overboard again. Soon he had another bite, and he hauled up his line with another large halibut on it. He kept on doing this until the canoe was half full of fish. All this time poor Bear did not catch a single fish. Then Black Bear said to Raven,

"Friend, tell me how it is that I do not get a bite, and you have nearly filled the canoe with halibut? Will you not give me some of your bait to put on my hooks?" Raven laughed, saying,

"O friend! the bait that I put on my halibut hook I can not give away; for after I have finished using it for bait, I shall have to take it from my hooks and put it where it belongs. You have the same thing on you. Why don't you take yours off and put it on your hook for bait?"

Bear replied, "What have you put on your hook for bait, that the halibut bite it so much?"

And Raven said to him, "If I were to tell you what I have done to myself, you would not do as I did."

But Bear said, "O friend! I would do anything to myself rather than go home without getting one fish, and be laughed at by our friends."

Then Raven laughed, and said, "I will tell, I have used my privates for bait. Therefore I am getting all the halibut to bite at my hook."

Then Bear asked him how he could take off his privates; and Raven said,

"I cut them off."

Bear replied, "Does it not hurt you when you cut them off?"

But Raven said, "I think it would hurt me more if my people should come to the beach and laugh at me because I came without any halibut. I think it best to stand the little pain of cutting off my privates rather than be laughed at by our people, for it would hurt my feelings enough to kill me."

While they were talking, a man came paddling out to them in a canoe. It was Cormorant. He anchored close to where Raven was fishing, and he could hear every word they were saying. After he had let down his anchor, he put some octopus bait on his hooks, and dropped the line overboard. While he was waiting for a bite, he heard Bear say,

"Come and cut my privates off; for I believe I could stand the pain for a short time better than being laughed at by our friends."

Raven said, "Why can't you cut them off yourself as well as I can?"

Bear inquired, "After I have cut them off, how shall I put them on again?"

Then Raven laughed while he was chewing gum, saying, "Why, of course, I can put them on; for you see that I always chew this gum, and after I finish using my privates for bait, I gum them on; and when I want to use them again, I pull them off without any pain."

"Well," said Bear, "come and cut them off, for you know how to do it."

Raven said, "I will give you a chance to get some halibut, for I don't want our people to laugh at you until they kill you; it is better to stand a little pain now than to be killed slowly by shame;" and he took his large mussel-shell knife from the stern of his canoe to where Bear was sitting. When he came up to him, he said,

"Now, my friend, lie on your back, with your two legs as wide apart as you can get them, so that I can make a clean cut."

Then Bear lay on his back, as he was told; and just as Raven was taking hold of his friend's privates to cut them off, Bear asked if it wouldn't hurt when the cutting began.

"Well," said Raven, "you must be foolish if you think that a cut from a knife doesn't hurt for a short time. When I cut my privates off, it hurt me, I know, but it is better to stand pain for a short time than to be laughed at by our people until dead."

"Well," said Bear, "cut away, then!"

Then Raven took hold of his friend's privates and cut them off as quick as he could. After he had cut them off, he said to Bear,

"Now go to sleep for a short time; then, when you wake up, you will feel well again;" and he went back to the stern of his canoe.

He had not been sitting there long, when he saw Bear give two kicks, and stretch out his body. Then Raven went to look at him and found his friend dead.

Then he said to himself, "Now I have my wish, for he was a fat man. I will go ashore and cook him and eat him before I go home."

Then he looked round, and saw Cormorant close to where he had been. He had heard everything he was saying to Bear before he killed him. So he hauled up his anchor. After he got it up, he paddled to where Cormorant was, and said to him,

"What are you doing here?"

Cormorant said, "I am halibut fishing, but I can not get a bite of any kind of fish."

All the time they were speaking to each other, Raven was wishing in his own mind for Cormorant to ask him for some of his gum; and they had not been speaking long, when Cormorant asked Raven what he was chewing.

Cormorant said, "Will you give me some of your gum, for I have been here so long that I want to drink some water, and where we are I can not get any water to drink; your gum will moisten my mouth."

Raven said to him, "I can not give you any gum unless you will let me take it from my mouth and put it on your tongue, for I am not allowed to put it in your hands," said he.

Then Cormorant said, "Put some of it on my tongue!" and he put out his tongue as far as he could.

Then Raven took some of the gum from his own mouth and put it on Cormorant's tongue. As soon as he had done so, however, he took hold of Cormorant's tongue, pulled it out, and threw it into the sea.

Then Raven said, "Now, friend Cormorant, speak!"

Cormorant tried to speak, but he could not say a word.

Then Raven said, "Now I have punished you for trying to come to spy on me. Go home; but now you can not tell our people what I have done to my friend Bear;" and he went toward the shore of a small bay.

Then he went ashore and made a fire. He put stones on it; and while the stones were getting red-hot, he went down to his canoe and took out his dead friend, carried him up the beach, and laid him alongside the fire. After he had done this, he saw that the stones were red hot; he then took the fire away, went for grass and moss, and carried them to the heap of red-hot stones, then put Bear on top of it. Then he took the moss and covered him up to keep the steam in.

After this he went to his fisherman's box and took all his spare halibut hooks out. When it was empty, he filled it from a little stream of water, and poured the water on the moss which covered the dead Bear. It had not been cooking long, when he uncovered it and saw that it was done. Then he began to eat, and continued until he had eaten his friend up. After he had finished eating, he picked up all the bones that were left and hid them in the woods. Then he went home in his canoe.

When he drew near to the point of **yokwāt**, he turned the heads of six halibut toward the bow of his canoe, as though they had been caught by Bear. These were the largest six he had in the canoe; for all Indians, whenever they catch halibut, always put them in their canoes with the tails away from them and the heads toward them. After he had done this, he paddled until he came round the point, where the people of the village could see him. Then he began to cry as loud as he could to make the people of the village hear him; and this is what he said while crying:

"I lost my beloved friend Bear while I was fishing halibut with him. He had caught six large halibut, and was hauling up the seventh one, when his leg became entangled in the line. While he was trying to club the fish, he missed his blow, and the large halibut went down and carried him down also, and I never saw him again."

This he said as he was paddling. The **mowach'atḫ** went down to the beach to meet him. At first they did not believe him. Some said,

"Oh, Raven killed our friend Bear, and has eaten him up!" and some said,

"He has left him on some island to die."

As soon, however, as they saw the six large halibut headed toward the bow of the canoe, they said to one another,

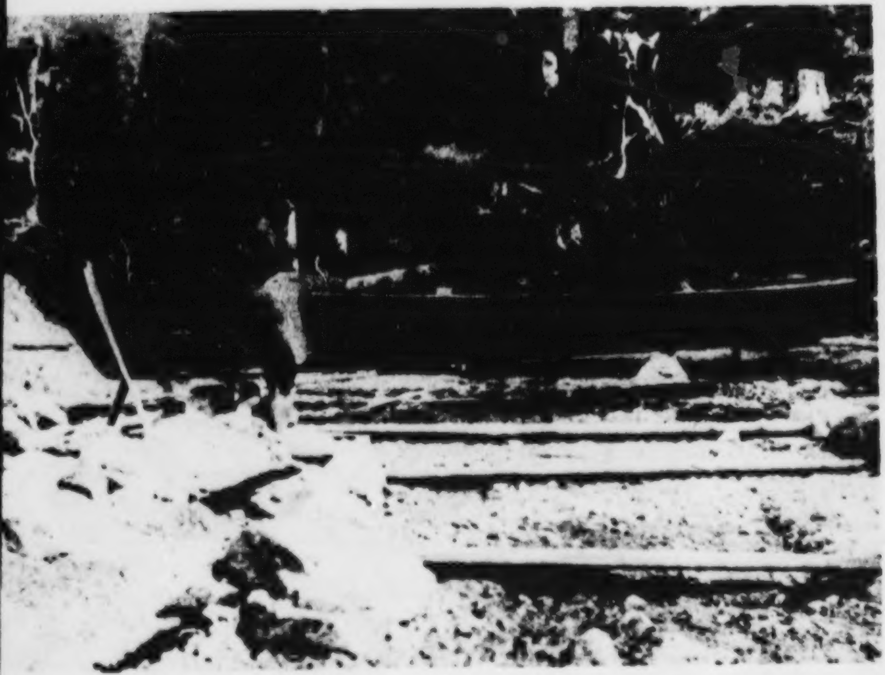
"It must be true that he was pulled over by a large halibut, for we can see these six large halibut our poor friend Bear caught; and it is true that sometimes the line will get tangled round either our arms or legs and nearly pull us overboard."

While they were talking, Cormorant was trying to tell his friends the **mowach'atḥ** that Raven had killed Bear; but they could not understand him, for his tongue had been taken out by Raven so that he might not tell his friends of what he saw; and Raven told some of his friends to take their large halibut and give them to Bear's friends. So some were given to his wife, and Raven kept the rest; and that is why there are ravens on **yokwāt** Island, but no bears.

CANOES

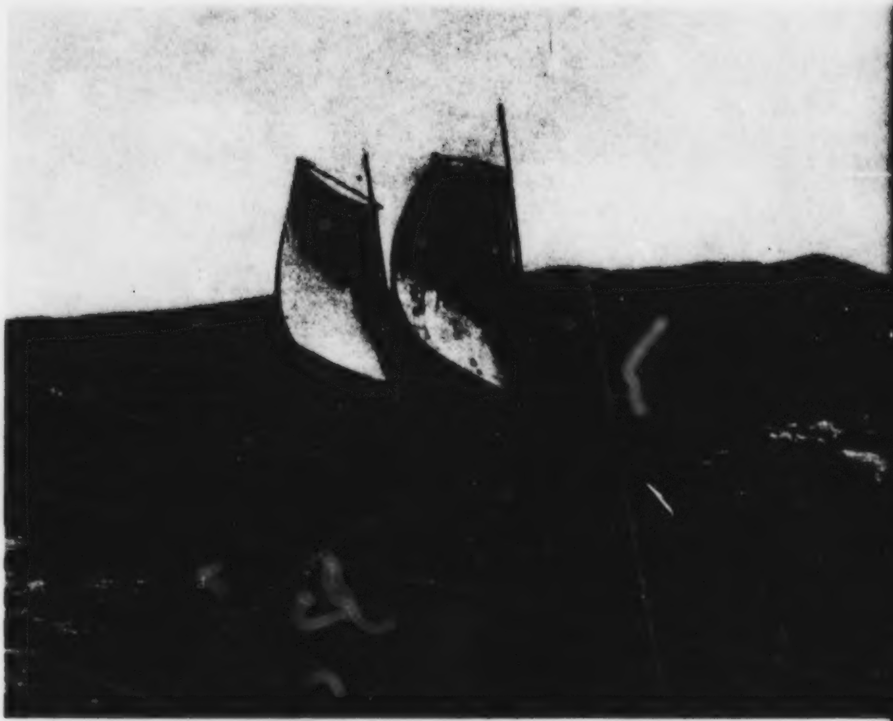
West Coast canoes are famous for their fine lines. They are briefly described here because they are so central to making a living from the sea. Construction, of red cedar, was done with a few tools, originally of stone, bone, mussel shell, and hard wood. A canoe was commonly roughed-out in winter and finished in the spring by one canoe maker with perhaps an apprentice helper, often a son or nephew. The cedar tree used to be felled by burning at the base while wet clay was put on the trunk above the fire to keep it from spreading. As usual, the canoe maker first did ritual, fasting and praying for success, before going out to find the right tree, usually straight-grained and clear, close to the water, or readily moved out of the forest on rollers. Felling by fire was apparently done mainly in September (Moziño 1970:44, 62) when it would be dry. When metal became widely available, trees were cut down with a big chisel, **qay'axwas**, up to four feet long. A hand hammer of stone, **pinaxpinax**, pecked into a shape to fit the hand was used to drive chisels and wedges of yew, **tlanat**. Only half the thickness of the tree was needed so wedges were used to split it after it was felled. Sometimes, just half the thickness might be split out of a tree to the desired length by notching it deeply at the right height and starting a split in which a cross stick was placed to work down, aided by wind action (Drucker 1951:79-80).

The bottom of the hull was usually shaped first, then the inside hollowed. In the past, it seems, this was done by controlled burning and then, at intervals, adzing out the charred wood (cf. Olson 1936:69). Alternatively, notches were cut crosswise to allow the wood between to be split out. For gauging hull thickness, small holes were made at intervals, formerly with a simple hand twist-drill made of the bone of a deer, bear or eagle, **sōtā**. For finer work, the small chisel, **kowo**, and D-shaped adze, **ch'aḥay'ak**, were used. When the hull was roughed out, it was brought from the woods to the village by water. The **dītīdātx̣**, outstanding canoe-makers along with the **tla?ōkwi?atḥ**, sometimes crowded onto the canoe at this first launching, until the rough canoe sank, to wish it luck for seaworthiness (Touchie 1977:24).



A fine, big canoe being scorched to remove the slivers and smooth the bottom. (National Museums of Canada)

It was the addition of the high end pieces, the heads, that made the canoe look right. The heads, and any patches on the sides, were fitted exactly by painting the surface of joint on the hull with charcoal paste, then holding the piece in place and hitting it to mark the high spots that had to be taken down. Pegging and lashing with twisted cedar withes fastened the pieces permanently. There were several ways to patch splits and holes (Arima 1975:71). The surface was smoothly finished with sandstone grinders, dogfish skin "sandpaper", charring of the bottom to remove fine splinters, and rubbing with rushes. The inside could be treated with a solution of hemlock or alder bark as an anti-insect preservative or be painted with ochre. Dogfish oil might be applied as well. For a greater beam, the canoe was sometimes spread by heating it with water boiled by dropping in red-hot stones into the water-filled hull, and with fires built along the sides. The hull sides were forced wider with sticks until thwart poles of the right length of hemlock or fir could be inserted. Thwarts were lashed in place with twisted cedar withe. Floor boards could be set in the bow and stern while a seat might also be built into the stern. Mats usually covered the bottom. At the bow, an important feature was the notch in the top of the prow in which a harpoon shaft could rest.



This photograph, taken by E. S. Curtis about 1915, shows how sail was adopted from the White man. (PABC:E-871)

Paddles, **ʔoxwāp**, were of yew, maple or yellow cedar, about five feet long with a crosswise "crutch" handle and blade, eight inches wide, with a sharp point. With this point the paddle became a fighting weapon when needed. The bailer, **ḫay’im**, was of a special pyramid shape which allowed water to be quickly scooped up the inside of the hull. Poles were used to push the canoe up rivers. After seeing European sailing ships, the West Coasters used sails of different kinds and, while some have said that the flat-bottomed canoe could only sail before the wind (Drucker 1951:86; Waterman 1920:26), others maintain that it could tack because of the skeg-like cutwaters at the ends of the bottom (Arima 1975:86).

With its long, rakish "clipper ship" prow and high, upright stern, the West Coast canoe looked a little like a lithe, living animal, perhaps a deer or a wolf with the snout-like prow tip and the ear-like harpoon rest above it. On the throat-like part below the tip of the prow was a little lump called the heart where magic medicine might be placed. In the past, war and ceremonial canoes had figures of animals or birds painted on the ends; otherwise decoration was spare and tasteful. Inside, under the gunwales, was a

A giant canoe, built by ʔōdayo, that subsequently proved unmanageable in winds and tides; photographed by E. S. Curtis in 1912. (BCPM:PN 4626) pretty fluting of two to four little grooves running the length of the hull. The top of the prow might be grooved crosswise. Special canoes, like a prized whaler, sometimes had several rows of opercula, those oval “doors” of sea snails, imbedded inside under the gunwales. Some big canoes had slanted white collars around the prow and stern.

Kinds or classes of canoes were distinguished in different ways by different people, but a list may be given with just approximate sizes, as follows:

—moving canoe, **shitl’ats**, about 40 to 45 feet long with a beam of six feet or better
—war canoe, **witaqsats**, about the same length as a moving canoe but narrower for speed
—“white-faced”, **tl’isōl**, a huge old-time war canoe with painted ends and a high, wide prow to shield against arrows, reportedly up to 60 feet long
—whaling canoe, **ʔo꞉ōtaqsats** or **p’inw’aɬ**, about 35 feet long and five feet or more wide
—utility “three people” canoe, **hashmahats** [Northern (N) and Central (C)], **ʔatlakw’odiyak** [Southern (S)], **qaqatsīstix** (S), usually about 22 feet long and four feet wide but the size varied
—sealing canoe, **yashmaqsats** (N & C), **yashâbax̣sts** (S), about 24 feet long but only three and a half feet wide, cut down to 18 feet by four feet for shipping on schooners for commercial sealing. The sea otter canoe, **kw’akw’atlasats**, was probably similar but smaller
—trolling canoe, **chītssats**, for one or two persons, 14 to 16 feet long
—one man “sit in the middle” canoe, **takaʔodiy’ak** (S), **xashin** (N), **hopinwash** (C), only 10 to 12 feet long.

In addition, there were children’s play canoes, just six or eight feet long perhaps, sometimes without heads. In the nineteenth century, the surviving utility and trolling canoes came to be built without head pieces and were either fitted with motors and cabins as inboard, “put-put” trollers, or with outboard motors. Oars came into general use as well late in the nineteenth century.

Almost needless to say, the West Coasters were expert canoeists, able to travel in heavy seas and land, surfing in, through breakers. From childhood they practised capsize and recovery and, of course, raced in play. Even in the narrow cranky models they kept an easy balance.

WHALING

Each spring, in the Flying month of April, the whaling season began, the great hunt for the mightiest of living creatures. Killing a whale was the highest glory of the West Coast people, reserved, naturally, for their chiefs who were anxious to claim the fame that accompanied such a deed. Of the several kinds of whales hunted by them, perhaps the most important was the California gray whale, **mâʔak** (N & C), **ch’it’ap** (S). These whales are about 35 to 45 feet long and migrate north along the coast each spring. Also

Part of the whaling ritual, photographed by E. S. Curtis in 1916.
(PABC:D-8444)

regularly hunted, especially in summer, was the humpback, **sixwaʔox** (S) meaning "soreface", and the right whale, **ʔīhtōp** (N & C), **ʔīch'ip** (S), both comparatively slow swimmers. A sperm whale termed **kotsqī** (N & C, S), "mussels-on-the-head", was hunted, but not another, a variant of the sperm, called **chichichwan** (N & C) (Drucker 1951:49) (English name not known to author). Nor was the blue whale or sulphur-bottom, **yayach'im** (N & C), **yach'ōbad** (S), hunted since it was considered too big to handle. The killer whale, **qaqawin** (N & C), **qaqawad** (S), was hard to get and only hunted by young whalers as a test.

For the grand pursuit of whales, the ritual preparation, as may be expected, was especially elaborate, long and hard. It varied with the individual whaler, but an example from the **moach'atḥ**, described only in summary, will give an idea of the proceedings (Drucker 1951:169-70). The chief bathed nightly, during the waxing of four moons, in fresh running water, rubbing his body with bundles of nettles and secret plants. He prayed long for help to the Four Chiefs to have the whales allow him alongside to harpoon. Wearing his whaler's bearskin robe, a red cedar-bark headband, and secret marks on his face, he walked slowly to and from his ritual place so that the whales, too, would move slowly. Then for another four waxings of the moon the chief bathed in the sea, swimming slowly counter clockwise, diving, surfacing, and blowing, then floating quietly to get the whales to do the same. Every four circuits he came out to rub himself with plants and to pray. All the while he was continent, but his principal wife often was with him during his ritual. She might hold a rope fastened to him, as if he were harpooned, while he sang the song he would sing to a weakened harpooned whale. He might walk around her slowly while she repeated, "This is the way the whale will act!" (Curtis 1916:38). His canoe crew also had to perform ritual before the hunt, though not for so long. Some whalers dragged their bodies over rocks covered with sharp barnacles in place of scrubbing with twigs and plants. Hunters also tortured themselves in the same way before going after other kinds of sea mammals. Charms of odd creatures like a double-headed worm, or a certain crab, were possessed by most successful whalers (Curtis 1916:16). Whales and other sea mammals are all like ordinary people in their houses under the sea. It is when they go fishing that they get into canoes which are their animal bodies (Sapir 1910–1912:VI, 8).

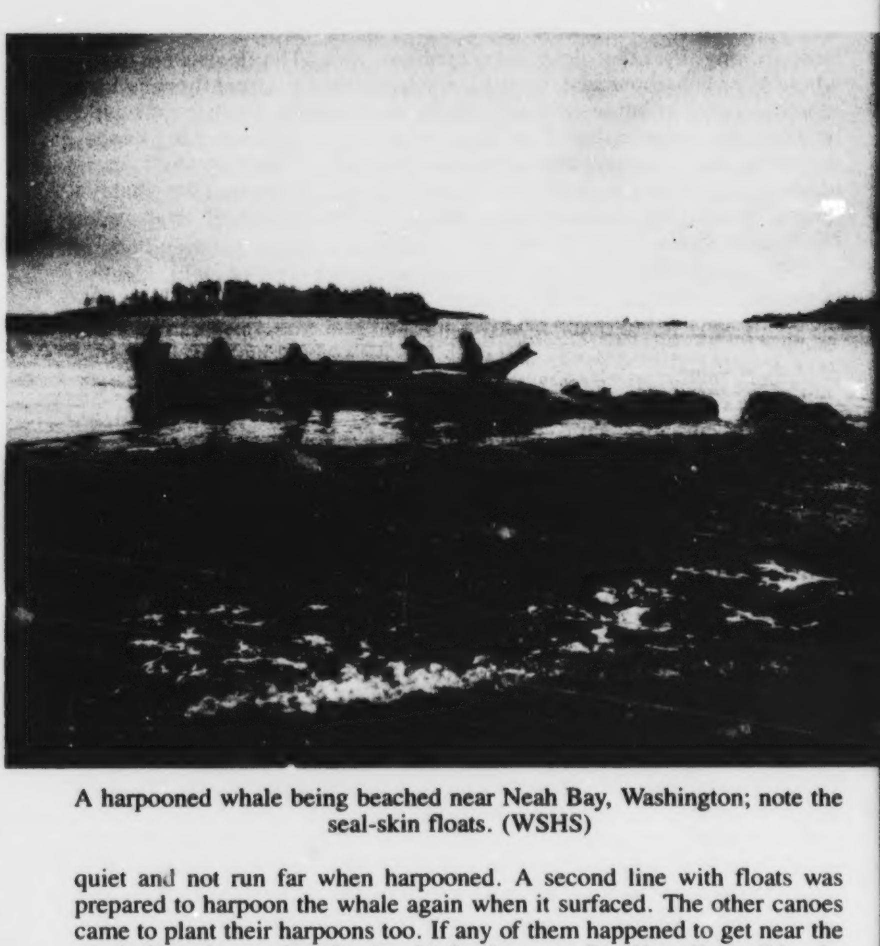
A large amount of carefully made equipment was used in whaling. A heavy harpoon shaft, **hinanohsom** (N & C), **dopīy'ax̧** (S), was used which could be between 14 and 18 feet long, or even more, and which was made of two lengths of yew securely scarfed together. The big harpoon head, **takamł** (N & C), **qwīqabł** (S), had a sharp blade of a large mussel shell, held with spruce gum between a pair of antler or bone barbs, around which the end strands of a thick sinew lanyard were tightly wound, then wrapped with nettle-fibre string, yellow cedar bark, and cherry bark before a smooth coating of gum (Waterman 1920:31-32; Fig. 12) was applied. Four fathoms of sinew leader were attached to the lanyard with a loop at the end, for the main line. The main line was of strong, three-strand, cedar-withe rope or split spruce root. There were two kinds of main line, one heavy and 40 fathoms long, the other light and 60 fathoms long. The floats were of the whole skins of harbour seal, scraped, smoked, fitted at a front flipper with a mouthpiece for inflation, and lashed at the ends to a line which in turn could be tied to the harpoon line. Four floats were commonly carried in a canoe, with uninflated spares. Other gear included a spare harpoon shaft, extra heads in kit boxes, a wide bladed "spade" lance for crippling the whale, a killing lance, more harpoon line, and a wooden bucket of fresh water because the canoe might be out for several days.

Besides all this gear, the canoe had to carry a crew of eight, ideally: harpooner, steersman, and six paddlers. No wonder the West Coast whaling canoe had to be long and beamy. Crew and gear were stowed in a certain way on board (Drucker 1951:50 Fig. 12). The whale hunt itself may be described, mainly using an account of the procedure recorded from **ʔatlyō**, one of the last **ʔāḥōsʔatḥ** whalers (Drucker 1951:49–56).

When all the equipment and ritual preparations were complete, the whaler set out, often after a sighting, or perhaps a dream, of a whale. The special canoe was carried down to the water on lifting poles. Other whaling canoes would accompany the main one, frequently with younger kinsmen of rank in command, as well as a swift sealing canoe to carry the news to the village when a whale was harpooned. The fleet set out before sunset for the whaling grounds which were not far out for California gray whales but farther for humpbacks. At the grounds, gear was checked, floats inflated. Then, at dawn, the canoes spread out to look for whales. A sighting was signalled by waving a paddle overhead to get the other canoes to approach, paddling hard but noiselessly. The chief stood in the bow, harpoon ready.

It could take a long time to get close to the whale while it was on the surface. Eventually, the crew brought the canoe alongside approaching on the left side and from the rear where the whale could not see them. The right time to harpoon was when the whale was just submerging, with its flukes well under and swung towards the canoe so that the animal would swing away in reaction and not smash the canoe (Chief Jones, pers. comm.). The steersman watched to see the flukes were in the right position and gave the signal to the harpooner who immediately drove the harpoon in behind the fore flipper. At once the canoe was swung sharply to the left away from the whale, and the first float was thrown out by the first right-hand paddler behind the harpooner who quickly crouched in the bow to avoid the line paying out. The next paddler back held his paddle under the line to have it run out smoothly from the space before him. The dangerous moments lasted until all the line and floats were all out because someone could get caught in a loop or the canoe could be capsized or smashed in the first violent struggles of the whale before it sounded. Any disaster that happened was thought due to the incorrect observation of tabus or performance of rituals.

The harpoon shaft, which had detached, was then picked up and usually sent to the village in the fast messenger canoe. All the while the whaler's wife was lying still under new mats at home to make the whale act



A harpooned whale being beached near Neah Bay, Washington; note the seal-skin floats. (WSHS)

quiet and not run far when harpooned. A second line with floats was prepared to harpoon the whale again when it surfaced. The other canoes came to plant their harpoons too. If any of them happened to get near the whale first, they waited for the chief to harpoon first if at all possible. As the whale was repeatedly harpooned, it grew weak. Sometimes it ran out to sea (interpreted by the whalers as due to lapses in ritual preparation) meaning a long tow back perhaps taking days. With songs and prayers the hunters would try to head it back toward shore. To kill the weakened whale, the first paddler cut the tendons to the flukes to "hamstring" it, then lanced under the flipper to the heart. As soon as the whale died, one of the crew dove in, cut a hole through the upper lip and another in the jaw, then tied the mouth shut to keep the great carcass from filling with water and sinking. Floats were attached to make it ride higher and, with a line tied to the loop closing the mouth, the canoes began the hard work of towing. Chants were sung, addressing the whale, which was attracted both to the whaler's wife and a drink of fresh water, as a high-born lady, **ḥakom**.

Asabel Curtis' photograph of blubber being stripped from a beached whale. (BCPM:PN 6408)

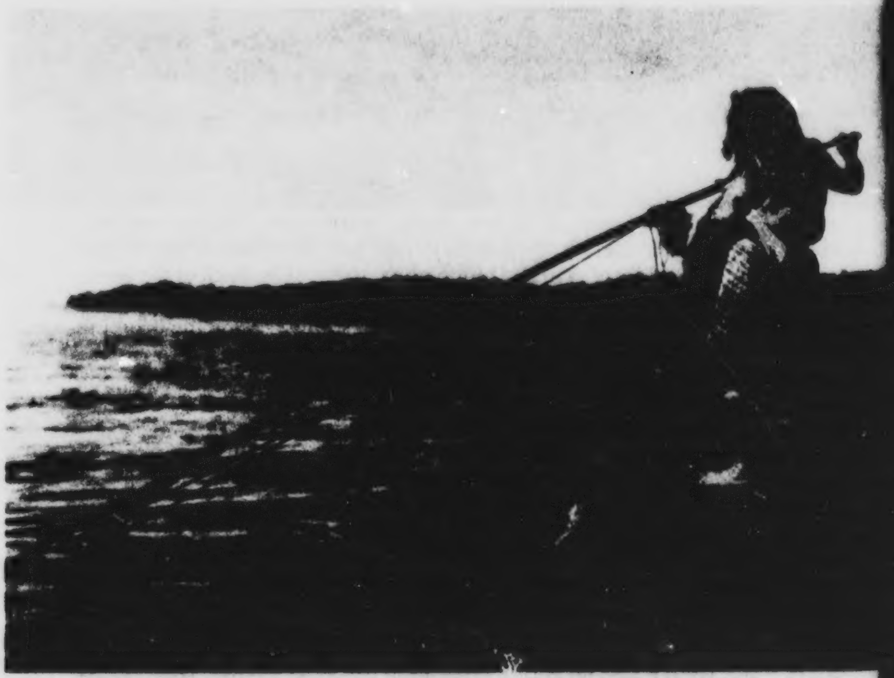
At high tide the whaler beached his prize, at his own village if possible, to get the bones of all his whales in one spot. The carcass was staked down for butchering. First to be cut off was the whaler's special and large piece, the saddle of skin and blubber of the dorsal fin back of the head, which was taken to his house in a procession led by his wife. It was hung over a pole held up on two posts with a trough below to catch the dripping oil. Eagle feathers were stuck in a row on top and white down was sprinkled on in honour of the whale. At the ends of the pole were hung the harpoon lines. Bunches of feathers were stuck on the posts and, beside the saddle, were hung the whale's eyes (at least by the people living around Cape Flattery) (Swan 1870:21-22, 22 Fig. 8). The next pieces of blubber went to the crews of the canoes and any others who may have joined in the towing. Then pieces were given to the rest of the tribe in order of rank, a procedure which was always carefully observed.

The whale was appeased, for being taken, by ceremonies performed around its saddle, **chakwāsi**. For four nights the whaler, his wife, and whaling crew gathered to sing special songs in honour of the whale, represented by the saddle. During this period, the whaler and his wife drank water from a special spring brought in a special bucket. Both spring and bucket were marked with feathers, no doubt on behalf of the whale who as a sea mammal was thought to thirst for sweet, fresh water. Then all the men came on invitation to a feast where the saddle, having been taken down, was cut into thin strips and boiled. Dress was festive and, at every step in the proceedings, people sang and danced. The oil from the saddle was saved in sea-lion bladders marked with feathers as a special food for winter feasts.

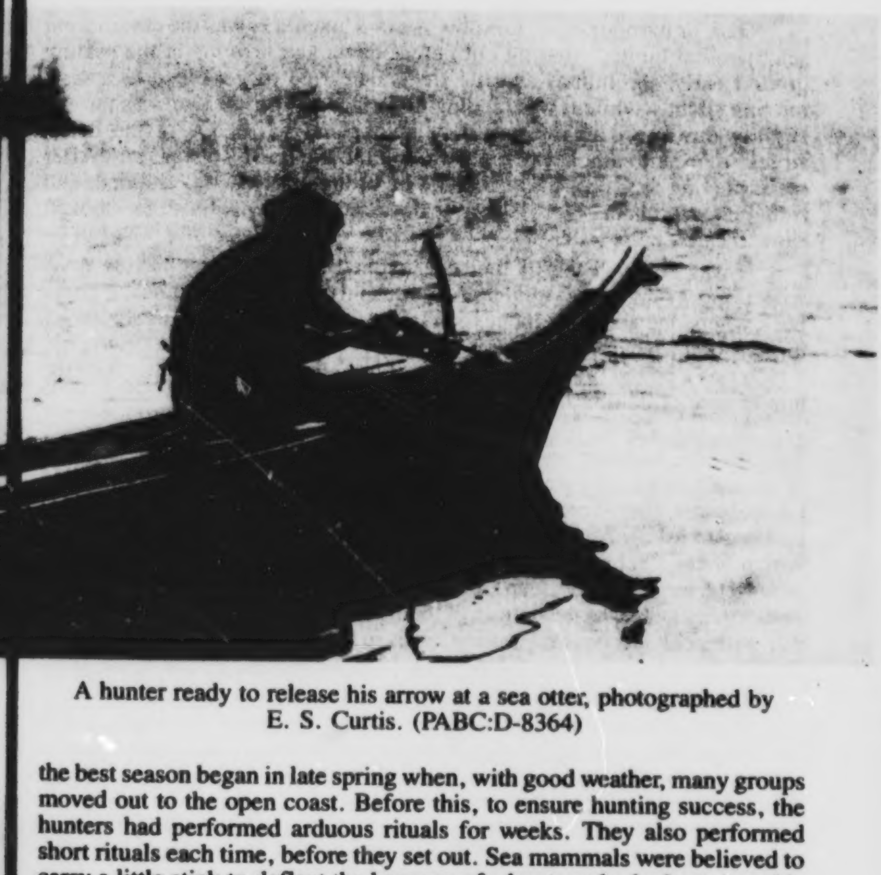
The West Coast people were much involved in whaling, and the successful whaler enjoyed great prestige. One might say that whaling was the high point of West Coast life.

HUNTING OTHER SEA MAMMALS

Aside from whales, other sea mammals were hunted typically with a narrow, fast, two- or three-man canoe with sharp, low cutwaters for silence, and using a two-pronged harpoon. Sea otters were formerly shot with bows and arrows. Sea mammals could be hunted at almost any time of year but



"Ready to throw the harpoon", a photograph taken by E. S. Curtis showing a double-headed harpoon. (PABC:D-8366)



A hunter ready to release his arrow at a sea otter, photographed by E. S. Curtis. (PABC:D-8364)

the best season began in late spring when, with good weather, many groups moved out to the open coast. Before this, to ensure hunting success, the hunters had performed arduous rituals for weeks. They also performed short rituals each time, before they set out. Sea mammals were believed to carry a little stick to deflect the harpoon of a hunter who had not done his ritual properly (Sapir 1910–12:VI, 18 n. 5).

The double-headed harpoon, **m'achy'ak**, had a slender shaft about 15 feet long. It was usually of fir, with two unequal diverging foreshafts, the longer being about two feet (Chief Jones, pers. comm.). A finger rest with two notches was cut in the butt end to aid throwing. The socketed harpoon heads, about half a foot long overall, were armed with a blade of mussel shell held between a pair of antler or bone barbs. The lanyard of braided sinew, a foot or so long, was tied around a notched section of the barbs and neatly wrapped. Originally the main line was apparently of sinew or rope of twisted cedar withe. Metal blades and trade ropes came into general use soon after White contact. The maximum throw for the average hunter was about eight fathoms, but a strong arm could throw up to 10 or 11 fathoms. Accurate range, however, was up to about six or seven fathoms, or around 40 feet.

Hair, or harbour, seal, **kokoḥw'isa** or **k'äsch'ał**, was the commonest sea mammal hunted. Setting out before dawn and arriving at the sealing ground early, the hunter and his steersman tried to get close to a seal, moving silently while it was feeding under water. The harpoon was thrown slightly downward by the standing hunter and when one of the heads struck, the shaft came away for it was held to the line by a slip knot. After some playing to tire it, the seal could be brought alongside, clubbed, and rolled into the canoe. Not just any seal was pursued, only those that looked easy to catch.

It was believed that if the seal disliked the hunter for having done something wrong in his ritual preparation and observation of tabus, it could put a whetstone about six inches square on the point of aim, thus shattering the harpoon when it struck (Sapir 1910–12:VI, 18 n. 6). A "best" harpoon, which was a prized family heirloom, was used only in fine weather with the hunter sure of getting his game (Sapir 1910–12:VI, 20).

In a few places, such as from a rock in the narrows of a stream where they passed, harbour seals were harpooned from shore. In special locations, such as where a stream went over a rock ledge where a bag net could be set below, they were netted. More common was clubbing of seals that had hauled ashore in caves. Notable were caves with submerged entrances which opened behind in the woods. Such lucky finds were made by men who were scrupulously clean from proper bathing ritual. The cliffs at Cape Flattery have caves at the bottom of them into which men could swim at low tide with pitch torches tied to their heads to light the seals on ledges inside. Seals were valued not only for meat and blubber but also for the whole skins used for whaling floats (Chief Jones, pers. comm.).

A sea-lion, **tokōk**, puts his head up every few minutes. When it is at the surface but with its head still down in the water, the hunter and his steersman paddled up quickly to harpoon it (Sapir 1910–12:VI, 18 n. 3). The line was usually tied to a thwart, though a seal-skin float was sometimes attached to the line. Also, some men held the line in their hands to play sea-lions. Sea-lions were not as esteemed for food as seals (Drucker 1951:46).

The fur seal, **k'iłanōs**, was prized for both its fine fur and its meat and blubber. Since, at the surface, the fur seal stays on its back whether sleeping or looking for fish with its head turned back into the water, it could be harpooned in the belly. For females, the harpoon could be cast low to bounce on the surface, but the much bigger and powerful bull had to be hit hard, directly, to kill it outright; a wounded male fur seal was strong enough to break the line. If the harpoon was slightly overthrown, the head of the shorter lower prong would get him (Chief Jones, pers. comm.).

Porpoises of three kinds were hunted and highly esteemed as food in the Juan de Fuca Strait. They were the black **ʔaʔixpatl** (?), the "puffing pig" **ts'iłk'oḥ** and the white fin (Sproat 1868:30). For the Central West Coast only the "puffing pig" is mentioned and said to be hunted "only in passing" (Koppert 1930a:67). After harpooning, the line was released with a marker float (the inflated stomach of a cod) attached. Since the skin of a porpoise is weak, too much tension on the line could tear the harpoon free before the animal could be subdued. On occasion, hunters went out at night to attract porpoises by throwing sand or fine gravel over the water to make it sound like schools of small fish (Drucker 1951:46).

Sea otter, **kw'akw'atl**, was traditionally prized for its fine fur, worn by the high-ranking people, as well as for food. In hunting sea otters, the hunter went by canoe with his steersman to the kelp beds before dawn, trying to catch a sea otter asleep at the surface. If one was found, the hunter would steal up soundlessly and shoot it with bow and arrow. Wounded, the sea otter could not swim far underwater so was easily followed to be shot again with an arrow or be harpooned for retrieval. Another hunting method was to go at night along the reefs listening for a crying pup. On finding such a pup, the hunter tied a rope around it and made it swim about whimpering to attract the mother within harpoon range. When European traders came, from 1785 onward, with the sea otter's precious pelt their main objective, mass hunts organized under a chief's direction were so efficient that, except for a few survivors, sea otters were hunted out early in the nineteenth century. On a clear, calm, summer morning many canoes would line up, from just beyond the breakers out to sea, then follow the shoreline in formation, spaced well apart (Drucker 1951:47-48). In such a way, the **mowach'atḥ** used to put out over 20 canoes in a line a mile long, sweeping that breadth of water along the shore. When someone saw an otter, he waved his paddle overhead, bringing the canoes in to form a big circle around the spot. When the otter surfaced, they shot arrows at it but the target was hard to hit from the canoes rolling on the swell. The one to put in the first arrow owned the pelt and paid off with pairs of trade blankets those who put in other arrows and harpooned it. The skin was hung outside with heavy stone weights attached to stretch it several inches since the traders priced it by length. The tail was cut off and sold separately. The meat often was served in a feast for the steersmen who were usually older kinsmen of the hunters.

MORE GATHERING OF PLANT AND SEA FOOD

With the sunnier days of spring the luxuriant plant life of the West Coast revives. Around May the gathering season on the land began. At the same time, hunting and fishing on the sea were giving good returns too, so that from spring to fall the people enjoyed a long season of abundance. It was a time generally free from want and of drying and storing, for the leaner winter season, certain foods obtained in surplus amounts. The plant foods described below were gathered mainly by women at different locations in the group's territory as the people moved about. Only the common ones were discussed based mainly on information from the unpublished notes of Denis E. St. Claire (1975–77). Many have not had their native names clarified yet, and not all were used by every group.

Tender new shoots were the notable spring plant food. Salmonberry shoots, **m'āyi**, and thimbleberry shoots, **ch'āshxiw'a**, were widely consumed. Refreshing raw, after peeling, they were also steamed. Also eaten raw were the young stalks and leaf stems of the cow parsnip. Fiddlehead shoots of the bracken fern were steamed or boiled. But the sword fern was sought for its large rhizome which was dug before the leaves sprouted and roasted or pit steamed. Also dug before sprouting was the bulb of an unidentified, white-flowered plant collected in winter. A spring plant food unusual to us perhaps but widespread among native peoples was the "sap", or cambium layer, of hemlock **qwitl'aqmapt**.

As spring turns into summer many berries ripen. The most important early berry was the salmonberry, **qawī**, patches of which were owned by chiefs who directed their harvest. Also picked was blackberry, **qāłqawī**, strawberry, **kałkintapiḫ**, saskatoon or serviceberry, red huckleberry, and gooseberry. Later in summer came the thimbleberry, **tlachlal**, bog blueberry, **xwīłasim**, elderberry, **ts'in'īpt**, oval-leafed blueberry, Alaska blueberry, the haws of black hawthorne, bearberry, and another exceptionally abundant and important berry, salal, **y'am'a**. Salal berries were eaten both fresh and dried for winter by parboiling, preliminary drying them in frames over fire, then sun-drying in cakes (Drucker 1951:65-66). Also dried, were blueberries and thimbleberries, the latter, at times, together with clams.

Several roots and bulbs that developed in summer were dug by the women with their digging sticks. These included clover root, **!a!īts'o**, cinquefoil roots, **tlichsy'op**, rice root, the bulbs of tiger lilies, wild onion (only around Port Alberni), and camas, **kwan'is**. These were eaten steamed or roasted. In the fall, rhizomes of bracken fern, licorice fern and lady fern, **shitlā**, and roots of skunk cabbage, **timāt**, were dug.

In the fall a few berries are still ripening like the evergreen huckleberry, **sinmoxsy'ats**, low-bush cranberry, and bog cranberry, **p'ap'īʔis**, which was gathered green, then, to eat, steamed until red and soft. Also picked green, in late summer, was the wild crabapple, most plentiful around Alberni. After picking, these were stored to ripen before being eaten either raw or cooked. Other plant foods which seem quite particular to the interior location of Alberni are currants, **ʔołʔō**, rose hips, **pat!o**, and perhaps wild rhubarb, **hom'āq**.

Among gathered plants, seaweeds must be included as significant foods. Eelgrass has sweet roots and stems that were enjoyed raw. Surf grass and sea grass were formed into square cakes and dried for winter.

This considerable variety of plant foods eaten by the West Coast people was supplementary to the main diet of fish, shellfish, mammals, and birds, but important for a change and perhaps for nutritional balance. These plant foods could also help tide people over occasional periods of scarcity.

Shellfish gathering, described earlier for the winter, continued through spring and summer. The very low tides of spring, which were not in the dark of night as in winter, were used to exploit the rich subtidal zone. Also many kinds of shellfish, like the black chiton, are at their best just after winter. The black turban shell, **tl'achkwin**, was eaten, raw, only in

A berry-picker at Clayoquot, photographed by E. S. Curtis.
(BCPM:PN 4854)

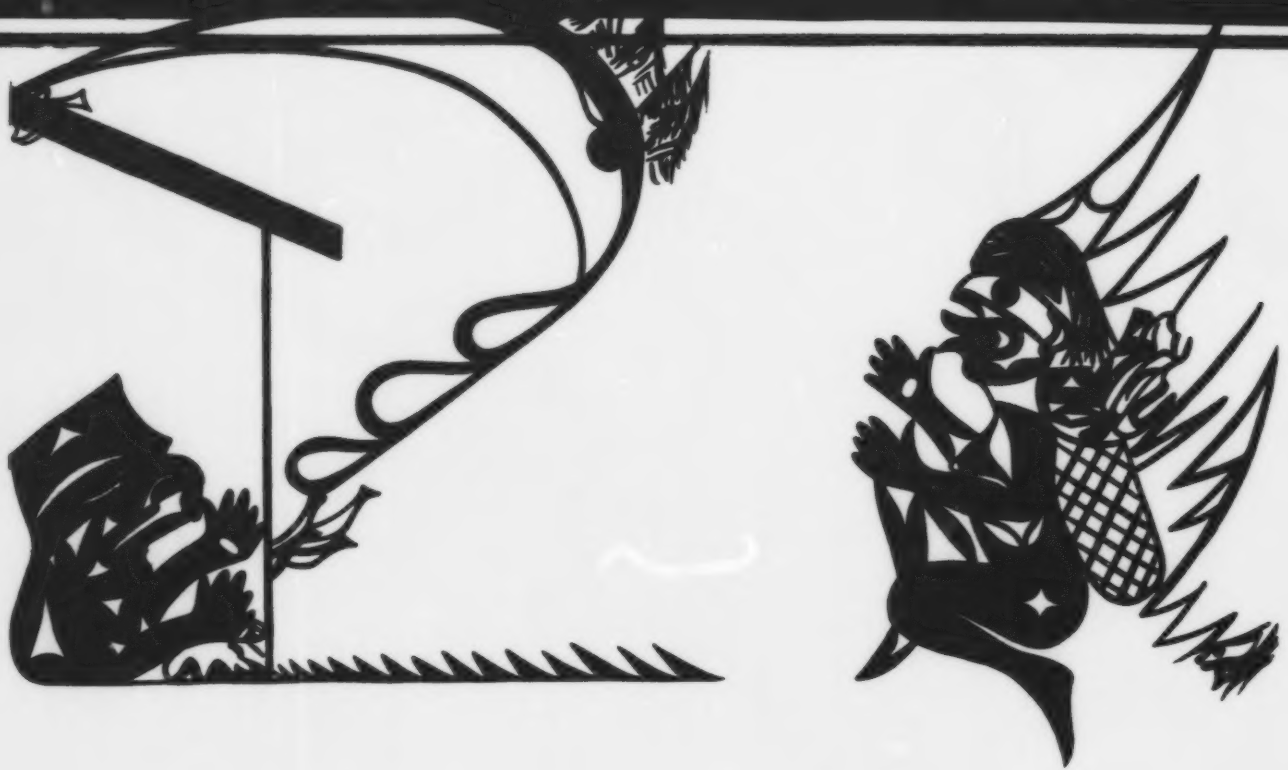
spring because, according to David W. Ellis and Luke Swan (1981:29) (unpub.), of an interesting belief, among the **mān'oˀisˀatḥ** at least, that the creature grew legs each summer. Barnacles are best in summer, as noted before. Butter clams are eaten in August and September when most were dug, then pit-steamed, sun-dried or smoked on cedar skewers, and stored in baskets for winter. Dried clams, **saḥaw'ăsht**, were soaked overnight to soften, and dipped in oil for sauce for eating.

Another thing could be mentioned under gathering which, while not a food, often occupied the mouths of West Coast people, and that is spruce gum, **ˀishts'ĭp**. Gum had other uses, like a smooth coating for harpoon heads or patching canoes. It could be collected in quantity by building a fire under a good tree, then catching the dripping pitch in big clam shells (Chief Jones, pers. comm.). But, for chewing, gum could be picked off a tree any time. West Coasters were avid gum chewers, and this characteristic is even featured in myth. Prohibition of gum chewing for ritual reasons likely was a trying self-denial.

Gum is prominent in the first part of the major creation myth of "Andaokot" (also called **’:inthtin**, mucus-made or Snot Boy). For a change of pace here is a **mowach'atḥ** version of this myth (Boas 1916:903–07).

HOW ANDAOKOT FIRST CAME TO THIS WORLD

> Once there was a village of Indians at **mowin'is**. The name of the tribe was Deer tribe (**mowach'atḥ**). One day all the little boys of that tribe wanted to go up the river **mowin'is**; and among these little boys were three noted ones. The first was Dogfish (**yachakas**); the second, Spirit Of The Dogfish (**kw'its'kas**); and the third, Small Clam Boy (**ḥichinˀqas**). These little boys went up the river; and they had not gone far, when they met a great woman chewing gum. She had a great basket on her back. She came to the little boys and blew at them with something that took all their strength away, so that they could not run away from her. The first one she got hold of was Dogfish, then Spirit Of The Dogfish, and last Small Clam Boy. Now, as soon as she got hold of them, she took some of the gum from her mouth and put it into their eyes, and then threw them into her basket. All the other little boys were treated in the same way. The first three, however, went through the netting of the basket as soon as they were thrown in; for Dogfish, as soon as he found out that he had been thrown into the basket, stretched his body and went through, and the other two did the same. All the other little children were carried away by the great Woman Of The Woods, **malahas**. Dogfish, Spirit Of The Dogfish, and Small Clam Boy helped one another take the gum out of their eyes; and as soon as their eyes were clean, they went to their people and told the news. Woman Of The Woods, however, as soon as she went into her house, took a long round pole and a rope, and tied the children's legs to this pole; and, after she had tied them on, she hung them over the fire alive, and smoked them to death.



How Andaokot first came to this world. (Painting by Tim Paul)

Now, one woman in the village of the **mowach'atḫ**, as soon as she found out that her little boy was among those carried away by the great Woman Of The Woods, went back of her house and cried, and she kept on crying for four days. On the fourth day she blew her nose and threw the mucus on the ground. On the second day she saw the mucus begin to have a little head on it, and arms and legs. Then she began to shut her eyes, and she cried again. On the third morning she looked at it, and found that it was as long as her longest finger; and on the fourth day she heard the little boy begin to cry. Then she took a piece of her yellow cedar bark blanket and wrapped it round the little baby boy, and she hid it under a tree. She thought then that she had better go and tell her husband about it; so she went and called her husband, and showed the little boy to him, and he told her to take him home. After that the boy began to grow very fast, and in a short time he began to talk. Then he asked his mother to make a bow and two arrows for him, and they began to make a bow and two arrows; and after they were finished, he asked his mother what made her cry so much. She told him about losing the only little boy she had. The child wanted to know where he was lost. Then she said,

"Don't go up the little stream **mowin'is**, for there is a great woman there who killed all the little children that went there to play; and one of them was my child, who was killed with all the rest."

After he heard this, he told his mother that he wanted to go and see the woman. His mother told him not to go, but he insisted. One day his mother put abalone shells on his ears, and one on his nose, and made her little son Andaokot look very pretty with paint on his face. That same day Andaokot disappeared, and his poor mother and father began to think that he had gone up the river **mowin'is** to see the Woman Of The Woods.

Now, they were right in guessing that he had gone up that river. He had not gone far, when he came to a well or spring near a large house; and alongside of the spring stood a tree. He said to himself, "This is the well where the great Woman Of The Woods comes to get water to drink; so I will climb up this tree and sit on the top of it, and wait until she comes for water." He climbed the tree to a fork on top of the tree; and he had not stayed there long, when he saw the great Woman Of the Woods come out of her house, carrying a large box to fetch water in. When she came under the tree, she saw the reflection of Andaokot in the spring. Then she stopped and looked at the pretty shadow in the water, with abalone shells on its ears and nose; and she said,

"Oh! I did not know that I was so pretty as that, and I did not know, either, that I had abalone shells in my ears and nose."

She was saying this while she was feeling her ears and nose for the shells. After a long while Andaokot took some moss and threw it down on the great Woman Of The Woods. Then she looked up, but Andaokot hid himself; and again the great Woman Of The Woods said, "Oh! It's my own reflection, only I never had a chance to see how pretty I look."

Again Andaokot took some moss and threw it down at her, and again she looked up; but Andaokot did the same thing as before, and she did not see him, for he hid himself in the fork of the tree. Once more the great woman looked upward to see who threw down the moss; but, as before, she did not see him; and she said to herself,

"It is my own reflection that I see."

A third time Andaokot took some moss and threw it down on her; and before she looked up he hid himself, and she did not see him this time; and again she said the same thing as before. The fourth time he threw down the moss he did not hide, but he let her see him. When she saw him, she said,

"Ah, come down and be my husband!"

Then Andaokot came down the tree; and the first thing the great woman said to him was,

"How pretty you are! What did your mother do to your face to make it look so pretty?"

Then he said, "It's no good for me to tell you, for you could not stand being killed first so as to make your face the shape of mine."

Then the great woman said, "Now, tell me about it, for I can stand any pain to become as pretty as you are!"

Then Andaokot said, "My mother took a large flat stone to lay my head on; and she took another one and hammered my head with it, and kept on hammering until my skull was all pounded to pieces. After that she began to squeeze my head until I was made as pretty as I look now. Then I was made to come to life again. So here I am now!"

Then she said, "Shall I get a flat stone to lay my head on, and will you hammer my head as flat as your mother did yours?"

Then Andaokot said, "Well, if you want me to do it. Don't blame me, for I don't want to do this to you; but if you want me to make you pretty, get a good flat stone, and a stone big enough to hammer your head flat with."

Then she went to find the two stones. It was not long before she brought two stones, and she showed them to Andaokot. When he saw the two stones, he said,

"These two stones are too small; the bigger the stones are, the prettier you will look."

Then she said, "I will look for larger stones, for I want to be very pretty, as you are, for I mean to have you for my husband;" and she ran to find two larger stones.

She had not stayed away long, when she came back with a stone just as large as she could carry. Then she put it down close to where the young man was standing. She put it flat on the ground, and then she went after the other one for a hammer. She brought this also, and put it down. Then she said to Andaokot,

"Come along and hammer my head flat, and make me look as pretty as you are!"

So Andaokot told her to lay her head on the flat stone. Then she did as she was told, and Andaokot took the stone to hammer her head with; but she jumped up, saying,

"I don't think you can bring me to life again after you kill me!"

Andaokot said, "I thought you would do that. Now you had better remain ugly. But I will not marry you," said he, as he threw away the hammer.

Then the great woman said, "Come and hammer my head flat, for I want to marry you!"

This she said as she went and laid her head on the flat stone and before she could move, he hammered her head flat and killed her.

Then he went into her house; and as soon as he was inside the door, he heard someone calling out loud,

"Come, my master, for here is a man that has come into your house!"

Andaokot looked for the man that was calling out, and then he found that it was the chamber-pot of the great woman that was calling. Then he took a stone and threw it at it, and broke it to pieces; but this caused only more noise, for all the broken pieces began to cry out louder. Then he picked them up and threw them into the fire; but they cried still louder. Then Andaokot saw the great woman at the door dancing; and she sad,

"Ah, Andaokot! you thought you had killed me; but you are mistaken, for I shall never die. Even if you cut me to pieces, I shall come to life again unless you shoot at my heart—that object you see hanging up there," said she, pointing to a black object hanging up in the corner of her house.

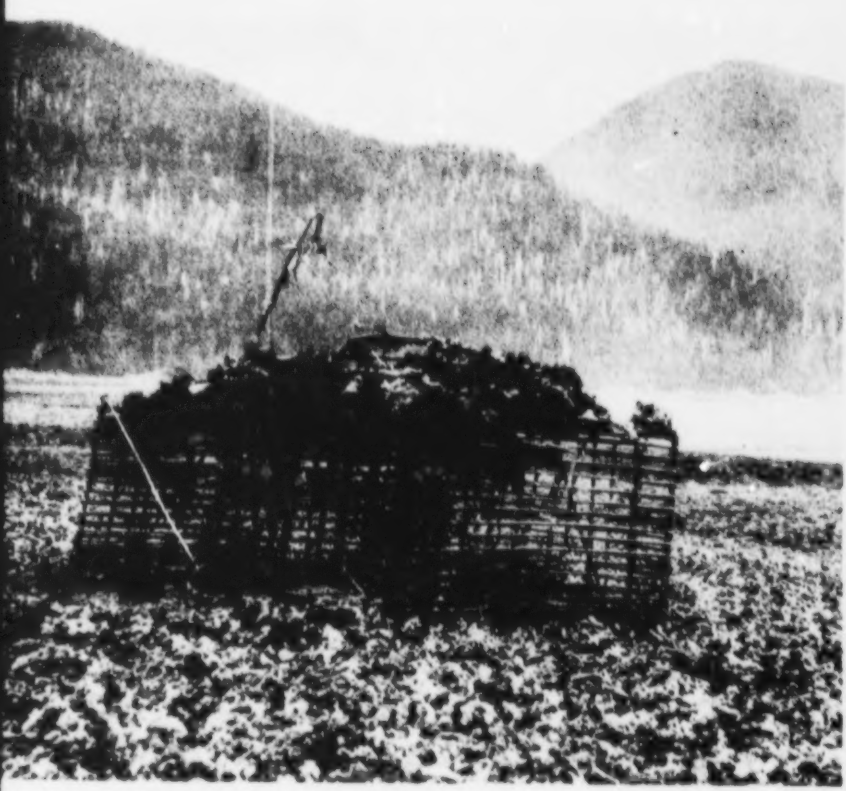
And Andaokot saw the great woman turn her head from him. Then he took a good aim with his bow and arrow, and shot at her heart; and as soon as his arrow struck it, the great woman fell down dead on the floor. Now she was really dead.

Then Andaokot saw all the dried children hanging up over the fire, and he took them all down and laid them in a row on the floor. After he had finished laying them down, he urinated on their bodies, and they all came to life again. Then he took them home to their parents, who were made happy again.

(Continued on page 180 . . .)

SALMON

Fall was the main season for salmon, the season when most West Coast groups caught great numbers, particularly dog salmon, **hink'ōˀas** (N), **!āk** (C). The salmon runs begin earlier, in mid-summer, starting with sockeye, **mi!āt** (**hisit** when in the sea), then spring, **sōħā**, and the early light runs of coho, **tsow'it**. They were caught mainly in traps set in weirs, or fish fences. Trolling began at the end of winter when the herring are followed in by the spring salmon. It was also done in early summer when the salmon come into the inlets and bays to stay before running upstream.



A tide-water fish trap, photographed near Nootka by E. S. Curtis in 1912. (BCPM:PN 529)

Salmon traps of several kinds and sets were used (Drucker 1951:16–18; Koppert 1030a:73–75). One type was the tidewater trap, **pōˀis**, set on tidal flats at river mouths where salmon hung about before going upstream to spawn. Between low and high tide, stakes of fir were driven into the bottom with a heavy, flat stone to make a large rectangular enclosure parallel to the shore, two fathoms or more long by a fathom wide and a good fathom high. Branches were fastened horizontally to the stakes to make a lattice work that kept the fish in while allowing the water to flow through. On the shore side of the trap were two entrances, narrowing on the inside to a V-shape to encourage entry but not exit. From the sides of the entrances, a pair of guide fences—one from each entrance—diverged toward the shore, stopping short of the high-tide line. Sometimes a third fence was put between the two entrances. These weirs were built by driving posts at intervals and lashing them to fathom-long poles for lattice work. At high tide the trap and its fences would be under a couple of feet of water.

The salmon swam over the fences or around their ends, and as the tide went down those inside were stranded in the trap.

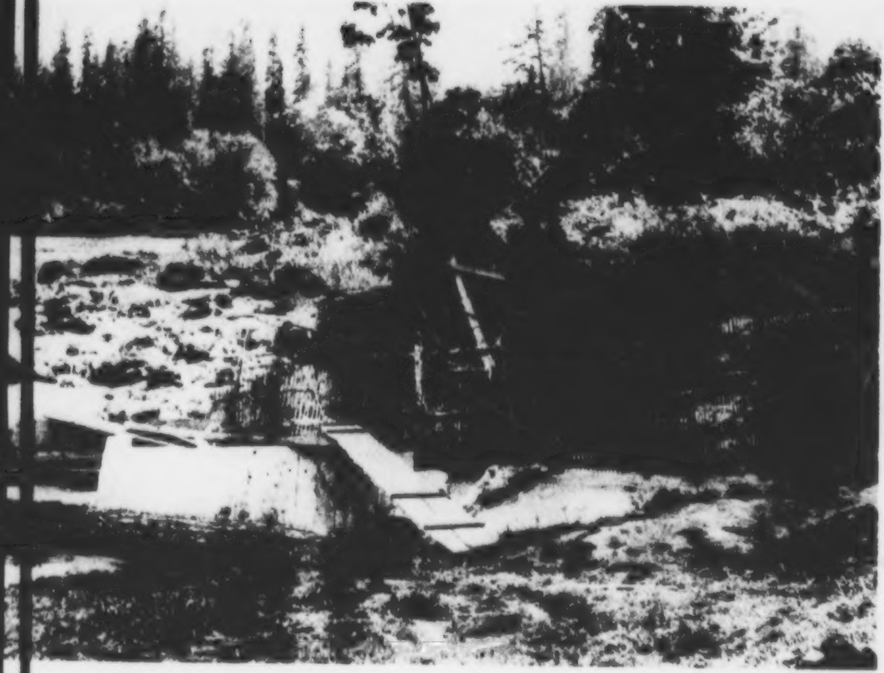
In the streams and rivers, traps of woven basketry were set, together with guiding weirs, to capture the salmon either as they swan upstream or were turned back downstream. In a fast current, a cylindrical trap with its wide mouth facing upstream might be used. Such traps were set fastened to stakes with the mouth submerged while the smaller closed end was raised just out of the water. To turn the salmon into them, weirs were built by driving pairs of crossed posts into the stream bed, a fathom or two apart, joining them at the top with horizontal poles on the upstream side, and putting sections of lattice work, weighted with rocks, against them. The layout of the weir across the stream varied but basically it was slanted from either midstream or the banks toward the traps to turn the salmon back to them. The force of the current swept the fish into the wide mouth and up into the narrow end where, high and dry, unable to back down or turn around, they died.

A similar type of upstream-facing conical trap had a pair of weirs diverging right from its mouth. The salmon were driven into the trap by beaters splashing upstream, while other men at the trap took them out of a door in the closed end. These cylindrical traps were usually built flat with rods two to three fathoms long tied, about two to four fingerwidths apart, to several hemlock cross-branches with a winding line. The branches were then bent around into hoops with the lengthwise rods inside to make the trap. A trap door could be built into the narrower, closed end.

When such traps were set facing downstream, they needed a funnel-like entrance turned inward and narrowing down to a small opening through which the salmon could just pass but find it difficult to get back through. There were also box-shaped traps about a fathom long with inturned, funnel-shaped mouths. The weir was commonly angled to lead the salmon into the mouths facing downstream. They could be raised to remove the salmon.

Salmon were also taken by harpooning which was more productive when the run was not heavy; either, before or after the main runs. The salmon harpoon had up to three, double-barbed heads in various arrangements on the shaft. The basic type was like a small harpoon for hunting sea mammals, having a pair of foreshafts of unequal length. Such a harpoon could be thrown from a canoe at salmon at the surface in the wide mouths of rivers but, more often, it was thrust at the fish from the bank or a rock in the stream. One variant for harpooning downward had two foreshafts angled out to the sides while the centre shaft projected beyond them to save the heads from hitting the bottom if the salmon was missed.

Drying salmon, and also herring, halibut, and cod, for later consumption enabled the West Coast people to stretch their seasonal super-abundance of fish over the winter so that they rarely suffered want. Smoking was done in the traditional big communal houses with its open fires. Above these, and farther up in the rafters, the fish filets were hung. With salmon, the typical procedure was first to wipe them clean of the protective slime



A wooden weir on the Somass River, photographed by Edgar Fleming in 1896. (BCPM:PN 4646)

with ferns or moss, then to cut around the body behind the gills and in front of the tail, leaving the backbone intact. Large mussel shells were the traditional knives used by the women preparing the fish for drying. The salmon was then split from either the back or the belly, removing most of the flesh as one piece, and leaving the head, backbone, and tail in another piece. This bony part had to be cooked in one piece until late in the run. Later, the backbones, still with much flesh on them, could be separated, stuck in a split stick, broiled and smoked. When the salmon was split from the back, the sides were smoked overnight to dry the flesh. Filets were cut out of them, leaving about half an inch of meat still on the skin. Cedar splints were inserted in the skin to spread it out, and both skin and filets were thoroughly smoked, then stored in bundles. When the salmon was split from the belly, the filets were cut but left attached to the skin along the back. Hung on the drying racks, these bulkier pieces had to be turned every day or so. The especially fat strips of the throat and of the belly behind the ventral fin were preserved separately. Fat parts, though prized, underwent special care to be dried without spoiling. One reason for the particular importance of the dog salmon, besides its abundance, was that it was not overly fat so that it could be dried easily.

Salmon drying on racks at Clo-ose; photographed about 1930 by Dorothy Bayne. (Alberni Valley Museum)

Salmon roe was a rich food that was packed in boxes or seal bladders and hung in the smoky rafters where the contents changed into a compact cheese-like delicacy.

The first salmon taken, especially sockeye and dog salmon, were treated with respectful rituals, in what amounted to welcoming ceremonies like those done for people in honour of their coming to visit. Among the northern groups, the first catch of dog salmon was laid on new mats in the chief's house. He sprinkled eagle down, the symbol of peace and goodwill, on the salmon and said to them:

> "We are glad you have come to visit us; we have been saving these (feathers) for you for a long time. We have been waiting a long time for you, and hope you will return to visit us soon." (Drucker 1951:175).

Then the salmon were dressed and cooked for a feast. All bones and guts were put back in the water. During the dog salmon season many prohibitions were observed, such as not chewing gum, not carrying fire along the beach, not making loud noises there nor shredding cedar bark by pounding with the bark shredder, all disturbing acts which would displease the salmon and stop them from running.

It is explained in myth in the long story of Chief **yâɬ'ōʔa** who marries the Dog Salmon Princess that ". . . all that the salmon come to the rivers for is to get the eagle's down that drifts on the waters" (Boas 1916:928). And before the chief returns to the human world from the salmon peoples he is visiting, a wise old man says:

> "We had better tell **yâɬōʔa** what we want his people to do for us, and what we should like them to put on the water for us to get. Now, the first thing we always liked to get from them is eagle's down; and mussel-shells, the large ones; and the **hap'ăchim'ɬ**—these three things we always like to have. We also do not want them to use blunt-pointed spears on us, for it hurts; and whenever they make salmon traps to catch us with, let them shave the sticks well and put a good sharp point on them [at the funnel entrances]. Also, whenever they cook salmon in any way, and whenever they finish eating it, let them pick up all the bones and pieces of skin and throw them into the salt water. Then we can come home again. If they do not do that, we can not come to life again." (Boas 1916:929-30).

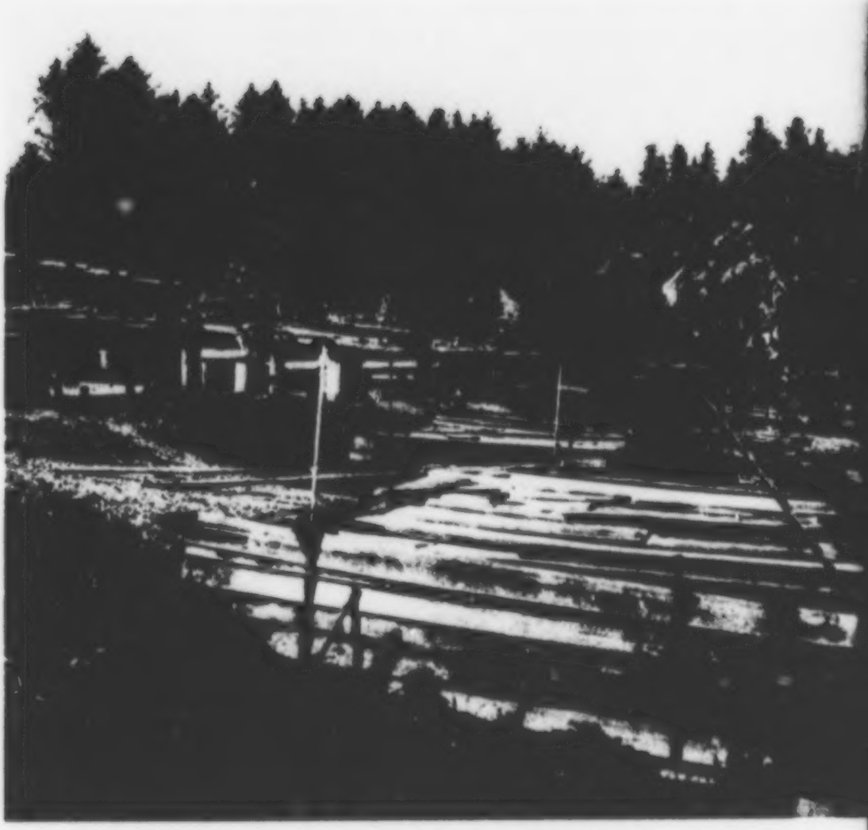
Chapter III. LIVING TOGETHER ON THE WEST COAST

Villages and Houses

To see how the West Coast people lived together in a social order, we might first look at the physical settings they created for themselves—their villages and houses. For ages, certain places have been the best spots to live for the West Coasters. These included a landing place for their canoes, ideally a smooth sheltered beach of sand or gravel. If the shore was rocky, landing and launching skids could be built with poles and, where a narrow spot made it necessary, the canoes could be handled sideways in and out of the water. Sometimes rocks were cleared in shallow waters into neat rows leaving channels for the canoes to go in or out. A short steep bank near the water was handy to get the canoes above the high-water line. There on the bank, the rectangular cedar houses were built, usually broadside to the shore.

The winter villages were located up the inlets sheltered from the storms which rage on the open coast. Fresh water was no problem in winter when the plentiful rain made freshets. It could also be caught directly in containers. But, in the spring and summer villages on the lower parts of the inlets and outside coast, a stream or spring which ran even in the months of dry weather was a necessary consideration. In general, villages and camps were located near the food resources being exploited. In times of war, special, easily defended, sites like a hill with slopes dug away to steepen them, or small islands, were used for refuge when attacked. Palisades of posts or heavy, split planks were also sometimes built for protection during wars.

West Coast houses, like those of neighbouring peoples like the Kwakiutl, had the notable feature that their main framework was perma-



House-frames and temporary shelters at Friendly Cove in September, 1874; photographed by Richard Maynard. (BCPM:PN 2804)

nently set in the ground while the roof and walls were detachable shells of cedar planks. As the people moved about during their seasonal round of economic activities, they took their house planks along on their canoes and put them up on the permanent frameworks that stood at the major seasonal villages. Houses were largest in the winter villages and about half this size in the other camps used when people were more dispersed and social units were smaller. The framework was made two plank-lengths wide and, since house planks were about two and a half to four fathoms long, the framework was around 30 to 40 feet wide. The length of the house could be from about 40 to as much as a hundred feet, while the height was about 14 feet (Drucker 1951:69). Running the length of the house were three, thick, strong roof beams, the centre one about two feet higher than the outer pair. This gave the roof enough pitch to run the rain off. Their strength at times

Houses covered with cedar planks, at Neah Bay, Washington; photographed by E. S. Curtis about 1915. (PABC:G-1010)

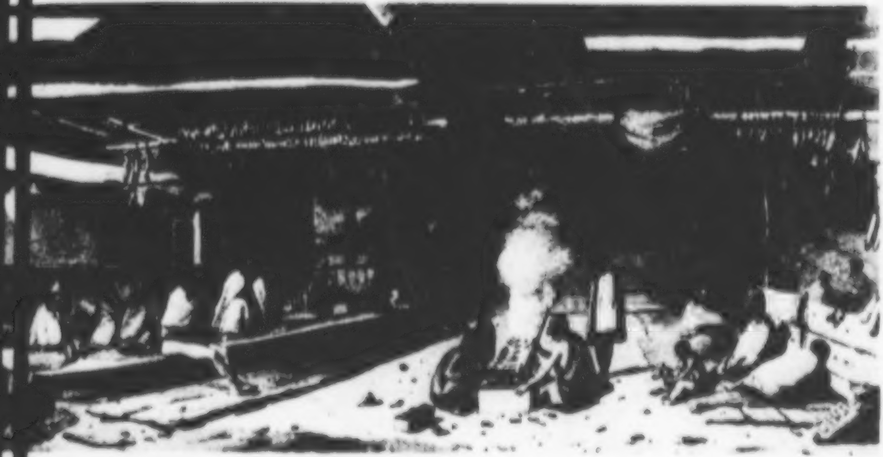
had practical value, particularly when snow fell, deep, wet and heavy. But the great size of the house beams was as much a matter of prestigious ostentation, displaying the wealth and might of the chief who could command the resources needed to put them up. The three roof beams were mounted on stout posts, one at each end. For the longer frameworks there was often another in the middle.

The chiefs built the houses with much ceremony, using a great deal of manpower to get the heavy posts and beams into place. Big cedars were felled and transported by water to the village. There, they were rolled up the bank, on inclines of well-supported planks, by many men hauling on strong ropes of many strands of twisted cedar bark. The ropes were anchored to stakes above and passed around the log. Chocks were used to stop the log from rolling back. To plant a housepost in its deep hole in the ground, it was raised by a combination of hauling on a rope tied to its top and lifting on poles passed under it. A pair of poles, crossed like scissors, kept it held up while the operation was under way. A plank was placed in the hole to make the end of the post slide down along it instead of digging into the earthen side. About 80 men were said to be needed to raise house posts (Koppert 1930a:14). The side posts were ordinarily about nine or 10 feet high while the centre ones were 10 to 12 feet high. Centre posts could also be used double and capped by a short crosspiece on which the ridge pole or centre beam sat. The roof beams were also rolled up plank inclines, according to Koppert. The houseposts were notched on top to receive them, and the beams were held in place by their own great weight. The huge ridge pole could be three or four feet thick, smoothed with an adze, and decoratively fluted like a Greek temple column with neat grooves, also made with an adze. Or it might be painted with simple designs like red or black bands, or white spots, always representing some storied, chiefly right. Sometimes the chief had the right to have the ridge pole project over the front of the house with the projection carved into a stylized animal head, like that of a sea-lion. At times, centre posts were also carved into simplified human figures, for example, again according to hereditary privilege.

For the plank shell of the house, pairs of light poles were driven into the ground around the sides at the right spacing. These held the wall planks between them. The planks were laid horizontally, overlapped like clapboard, and held up on slings of twisted cedar-withe rope tied between the pairs of poles. The top planks were fastened to the framework. The roof was constructed by bridging the beams with rafter poles over which other poles were tied lengthwise. The best and longest planks were used for the roofing, laid crosswise to the length of the house. They were loose and could be pushed aside from the inside to let out smoke or increase light. To keep the roof from leaking, more boards covered the places where the main planks met (Drucker 1951:70), or the planks could have grooves at their edges to fit into each other to be weathertight (Koppert 1930a:16). Rocks and logs weighted down the roof against strong winds. The entrance, in the end or side, was usually covered, in olden days, with only a mat, but plank doors are known from historic times. Informal back entrances existed as spaces left between plank ends. There were no windows, but light came in through the smokehole and the spaces between the wall planks.

Inside, a low plank platform extended around the sides, and each family had its place along it, according to rank, the highest chiefly ones at the rear wall and the lowest commoners and slaves at the front by the entrance. The family spaces were partly partitioned by piles of storage boxes, baskets, tubs, cooking boxes, trays, mats, and all the assorted gear for fishing, hunting, and gathering. Bedding consisted only of mats of cedar bark or rushes, together with clothing robes. Each family had its fireplace on the earth floor. Tall, pyramidal racks of four poles tied together at the top with horizontal poles below were erected for drying fish. More drying and storage racks were hung high up near the roof. Early European observers did not find the West Coast houses the neatest places inside because of their differing conceptions of order. From the outside, too, the houses looked a bit ragged with planks projecting here and there at the ends. But they were big, solid, spacious structures, well-adapted to the climate, the seasonal movements of the people, and their social order.

Firewood was mainly driftwood which, it should be noted, did not cover the beaches in huge quantities before commercial logging was developed (Drucker 1951:107). Women gathered small pieces of driftwood



View of the interior of a Westcoast house, drawn by John Webster at Friendly Cove in 1778. (Peabody Museum, Harvard University)

in burden baskets, while men went in canoes to get the bigger pieces. Windfall logs near the water were levered down the beach and towed. The thick bark of Douglas-fir was gathered for hot, smokeless fires, while smoky fires, for drying fish, were made with partly rotted hemlock. Aboriginally, fires were started with a fire drill of red cedar spun between the palms, a method which was so arduous that fires were kept going as much as possible, being banked up at night to keep coals live to the morning. When travelling, a slow-burning length of twisted cedar bark was carried as a match.

Dress

Dress, in the wide sense of apparel, including ornaments, is a vital dimension of human life not just for practical purposes but for social reasons as well. Thus on the West Coast personal appearance was an important marker of rank in a class-conscious society. Despite weather that is often damp and raw, clothing was comparatively light. People went barefoot except when a few hunters put on simple moccasins to go after deer or wore snowshoes to hunt elk. On occasional hot days of summer the men wore only their ornaments (Drucker 1951:99). Women, however, always kept well covered. Shredded, yellow cedar bark was the main clothing material. The basic clothing item was a robe commonly woven of shredded cedar bark and edged with fur. Men frequently wrapped the robe around the body under the left arm and pinned the top corners over the right shoulder, leaving both arms free. A belt was optional. Women wore longer robes, almost ankle length, covering the shoulders and with short loose sleeves down to the elbows (Jewitt 1815:74). Beneath the robe, men wore

A woman, in shredded cedar-bark clothing, carrying bundles of cedar bark, photographed by E. S. Curtis about 1914. (PABC:D-8330)

A tlaʔōkwiʔath woman in a woven cedar-bark hat, photographed by
E. S. Curtis. (PABC:D-8447)

A woman weaving a blanket of yellow cedar bark, photographed by Charles S. Sely. (BCPM:PN 1139)

nothing, but women had an apron-like skirt of shredded cedar bark. With the arrival of Europeans, woollen trade blankets were soon adopted as the basic piece of clothing, but western clothing did not come into general use until about the last quarter of the nineteenth century. When the weather was wet and cold, a short, poncho-like, conical cape was worn over the robe. There was also a rain cape of double matting to cover the back. The West Coast rain hat was woven of red cedar bark or split spruce root, was smaller than the hats of coastal peoples to the north, and shaped like a blunted cone.

Chiefs and high-ranking women were better dressed than the commoners, especially on ceremonial occasions. Chiefs had designs painted on their rain hats. If they were whalers, they had special hats with a pointed knob on the top and designs of whales and whaling canoes woven into the very fine weaving. For their robes, wool was woven into the yellow cedar bark. The wool came from mountain goats that lived near the northerly groups on the mainland coast and from special woolly dogs in the south where this use of wool was likely adopted long ago from the neighbouring Coast Salish peoples. For formal occasions the chiefs wore particularly fine robes, including those made of three sea otter pelts, like the ones collected by Captain Cook's party in 1778. Mink and marten robes were also known. Bearskin robes were worn by chiefs when they went out whaling or doing their preparatory bathing ritual. There were also bearskin vests. In recent times, the more northern chiefs bought pearl-button and Chilkat blankets from their Kwakiutl neighbours. In the old days, there was another special display robe of thick, white, elk hide on which designs were painted. This was the war armour of the West Coast (Jewitt 1815:67).

Hair was worn shoulder length by the men and longer by the women, without braiding, until well into the nineteenth century. On ceremonial occasions men tied the hair, well oiled, on top of the head, with a hemlock branch, and chiefs added a sprinkling of white, eagle down. Head bands of shredded cedar bark, dyed red, were common for ceremonies. Dancers stuck feathers from eagles, hawks, and swans in these bands. Face and body painting was done more by men than women. Red ochre, charcoal, and hemlock sap which turns black, were used. Chiefs put on shiny, powdered mica. A base of deer or bear grease underlay the painting. For ceremonials the painting was done in assorted geometrical patterns (Jewitt 1815:77), probably symbolizing rights. Plainer face painting was also done, particularly by the young people who were concerned with protecting their complexions from sunburn.

Jewellery included ear and nose pendants of abalone shell, dentalium shell, copper and trade beads, worn by both men and women. Bracelets and anklets were worn by women, and were made of sea otter fur for those of high rank while commoners used elk hide or woven cedar bark. Young girls wore tight bands around the ankles to make them slim and the calves above full. Wives of chiefs might also wear necklaces and bracelets of valuable and beautiful dentalium shells.

SOCIAL RANK AND CLASS

The West Coast people lived in a society in which all members of each social group, whether large or small, were ranked in order from top to bottom. The highest ranking individuals were the leading chiefs of the several confederacies of tribes which are recorded for the Northern division of the West Coast, at least in historic times. They headed the highest ranking tribes. Where the tribe was the largest social grouping, rather than the confederacy, its highest ranking chief was the top person. He was first in rank because the local group he headed was first among the number of such groups making up the tribe. In each local group all other members were ranked in order of closeness of kin relationship to the chief. Slaves were in a separate class at the very bottom of the social scale; in fact, they were not even considered to be on the scale of rank since they were war captives who no longer were free persons but had become property, owned and used like personal possessions.

If any level of social grouping can be considered basic as a unit of West Coast society, it was probably the local group—a number of people living together through much of the year at locations centred on a natural resource like a salmon stream and being related in some way to the group's chief. The local group had a name usually taken from the name of their original main location, with the suffix **-ʔatḥ** added, and meaning freely "people of such and such". The chief, the first or highest in rank in the group, held his position through hereditary right, being the first-born son, ideally, of the preceding chief. He owned the territory and resources of the group as inherited rights, as well as numerous other privileges including things which may seem quite immaterial to Europeans, like ceremonies and songs, but which were regarded as valuable properties by the West Coasters. Next in rank were the chief's younger brothers who might head subgroups of which they would be chiefs, or if there were no subdivisions they might serve in their older brother's group as war chiefs, orators or "talking chiefs", and the related messengers who were like ambassadors to other external groups. Sisters of the chief held high rank as well, but they would generally marry out of the group and live with the husband's group most of the time. Wives for high-ranking men were chosen from roughly equivalent ranking positions in their family groups and, so, brought assorted inherited rights, material and spiritual, as their marriage dowry from their fathers and mothers.

Not only the brothers, sisters and children of the chief of the local group were ranked after him, but more distant kin as well, with the relationship traced through either male or female ties. The closer the relationship the higher the rank. Lines of descent from high-ranking individuals were in the forefront of social consciousness so that a person looking at his ancestry might see it like a branching plant with a number of descent lines coming down to him (Ida Jones, pers. comm.). Through these lines the person inherited names which marked position and everything else of value in the West Coast world as rights or privileges **topâti** or property. The inheritance or transfer of such property rights was made public and legalized or accepted as proper through the potlatch which was the formal public announcement of the social transaction whereby individuals took on new rights and positions with accompanying ceremonies, feasting usually, and a distribution of goods which were like payments to all who witnessed the act. These witnesses made the announced transfer of rights valid by accepting it as proper. This was why the potlatch was such an important institution in West Coast society. In addition, in a potlatch, everything was done in order of rank, from the seating of individuals, to the serving of food and giving of gifts, with everyone announced in turn by his name and item given by the host, so that the rank of everyone in relationship to each other was clearly and formally shown in public. The potlatch was a prime mechanism embodying the social order as a whole system, organizing the way West Coasters lived together.

There was a continuous grading of ranked positions with individuals placed in terms of their distance from the chief and his senior, or highest, line of descent, but those who were ranked higher than a certain loosely distinguished point in the system were generally regarded as chiefs while those below were considered commoners. This demarcation came at the level of the lesser ranked chiefs, typically the descendants of the chief's younger brothers. They were usually called chief, **ḥaw'iɫ**, at least by inferiors, and held lesser rights including those of speakers and war chiefs, but their social status was intermediate between the truly chiefly head of the group and his brothers and sons on the one hand, and the clearly less important commoners, **maschim**, on the other. Especially able commoners, who were valuable supporters of the chief, sometimes were given minor rights by him and thus were elevated above the undistinguished run-of-the-mill. At this zone in the rank order then, chiefs and commoners overlapped, and individuals could marry up or down a step, raising or lowering the position of their children. Despite the continuity in rank from top to bottom, an upper layer of those who were clearly chiefs was distinguishable as the highly privileged ones with titles to major resources and to the limited number of named positions or seats at potlatches as well as to a body of supporting followers who were generally, though not always, immediate relatives. Chiefs had wealth and power; indeed, the very word for chief means wealthy. Rank and wealth coincided, and West Coasters were much concerned with both. Thus from one viewpoint a ranked social system could be regarded as a way of organizing the exploitation and distribution of the wealth of natural resources.

Each local group usually had one or more big communal houses in the main villages. Again, spaces inside were occupied according to rank. An ideal pattern was to have four chiefs occupying the four corners of a house, the first-ranked and real owner of the house taking up the back right corner facing the entrance, the next the back left, the third the front left, and the fourth the front right corner. There were various arrangements by rank, however, with the head chief owning the house and the others, likely brothers or close paternal kinsmen, owning the right to their places within. Between these special "owned" places lived the lesser ranked and the commoners who were like tenants and often moved about between houses depending on which group they were related to and chose to be with. Generally the higher the rank the more stable was the location of their residence. Commoners who were quite closely related to a chief tended to stay near him, enjoying economic and social advantages as his loyal supporters, while commoners who were less clearly linked with the chiefs of a house were more likely to move on before too long for one reason or another. Moves were often made just for the sake of a change of group, even by chiefs, although they did so less frequently than commoners. Slaves, **qôł**, being property, stayed in the least desirable part of their owner's house near the entrance and did not move unless their chiefly owner did or they were sold.

Chiefs were the focal points of West Coast society. Born to their position which they inherited unless unfit for it, they owned practically everything of value or importance in West Coast life from village sites and houses to salmon streams, fishing banks in the sea, herring spawning grounds, shellfish beds, hunting territories, berrying and root-digging patches, and the beaches with their rights to stranded items, including the great whales (Drucker 1951:247-8). They also inherited the knowledge and rituals for managing the supernatural realm. Chiefs and their families wore richer dress, especially on formal occasions when they were the ceremonial leaders. Ideally chiefs directed their groups in their activities and did not work except at pursuits of glorious prestige like whaling or hunting sea otters. A council of knowledgeable elders advised chiefs on serious matters affecting the group, such as war or high-ranking marriage with other groups, but final decision rested with the chiefs. Ownership of resources meant that each season each resource was opened to exploitation by a chief who, for example, might order his men to get the first catch from a fishing ground for him or lead the first expedition. Those using his resources would pay a tribute in kind, of no set amount. This tribute was willingly given since the chief would feast the group with it (Drucker 1951:251-52). Large sea or land mammals, however, belonged to the hunter, who gave a feast from his catch.

The chief of a group was like a father looking after his children, dominant but kindly (Wike 1958:219-20). He and his family actually formed the core of the local group. He provided feasts, potlatch distributions, and security, or his following would diminish. If disliked, he could be killed and replaced by a rival relative whom the group preferred. When in danger of revolt from within, a chief could have his slaves protect him or use his supernatural powers against his enemies. On the other hand, when a chief and his commoner following were both good to each other, the group prospered. There was a balance of power between chiefs and commoners despite the seemingly total dominance of the former. Commoners could always move to switch chiefs, and since chiefs needed a strong following to be successful, living up to their ancestors' reputation in giving feasts and potlatches, any tendency to exploit commoners was balanced by the possible loss in following. But there were good chiefs and bad chiefs in this regard.

Slavery was a disgrace, and relatives tried to ransom kin who had been captured in war and made slaves. Although the lot of a slave was not physically much worse than that of the commoners, to serve others was unpleasant, especially for the high-born who had been captured; therefore, slaves often tried to escape. Whether they escaped or were ransomed, on return to their group, ex-slaves were given a potlatch to announce their restoration to freedom and assumption of new names. Male and female slaves often lived together as if married, especially if they belonged to the same master. Rarely a master might buy a woman slave for a good male slave. A young slave was commonly made an attendant to a chief's child of similar age and the same sex, the two often becoming boon companions. Such companion slaves were as well treated as their chiefly partners in daily life but, should their young masters die, they were often killed to accompany their master. Slaves were property and could be bought, sold, mistreated, or even killed; their lot was not a happy one.

In summary, West Coast society was made up of three main classes—chiefs, commoners, and slaves, although the first two categories overlapped. The rank of chiefs and commoners was determined by the distance of kin relationship to the top position. A chief's position passed preferably to his eldest son, or if there was none, to his next brother (Drucker 1951:245; Jewitt 1815:170; Moziño 1970:31; Sproat 1868:116). Specific rights depending on their nature, could be inherited by the eldest son, shared between more than one child, held by an eldest daughter until her marriage when it might be transferred to a brother if not to be taken along, or given to a new son-in-law (Drucker 1951:267). Portable privileges like songs, dances, or names, might be taken out of a group by marriage, but there was a sense of patrimony of rights to be kept as intact as possible over the generations (Sapir 1915:363-64).

FEASTING

Feasting, one of life's great pleasures, was frequently enjoyed by the West Coast people. They had the rich resources that provided an abundance of good food yet, at times, they might suffer rations, lean enough that feasts must have always been appreciated. Feasts were also an opportunity to be formal and ceremonial, a situation the West Coasters loved, whenever possible. In a way a feast was always a ceremony, and a ceremony almost always included a feast unless very minor. Feasting as a social event may be associated with many social purposes, but the sheer pleasure of eating a lot of delicious things, wearing festive dress and being entertained with oratory, songs, dances, or skits should not be overlooked as its essence.

Chiefs were the main givers of feasts. The most common occasions for feasts were when a chief obtained a lot of food as the first fruits of the season from a resource, or as tribute payment in kind, such as a big game animal, for the use of one of his resource properties, or as a good gift from another group, perhaps the "left-overs" he brought back from another feast. Feasts were part of many public events such as potlatches and group rituals like the Wolf ritual. They also served to publicize and legalize changes in social status for commoners and, sometimes, chiefs, without the costly distribution of goods of a potlatch. Typical were the feasts given by a father, uncle, or perhaps grandfather, for a child passing from stage to stage in his development as a tribesman. A chief could be asked to give a feast of a kind of food his followers were hungry for, like sockeye or herring. The request was usually made by the war chiefs, speakers, or the clowns who did funny things to make people laugh during serious public occasions.

Those feted at a feast varied from a few persons to several tribes. Everyone might be included or just certain persons, such as only four chiefs, or the warriors, or old men. The seating order of the guests was important because it embodied the social order of rank for all the individuals. Therefore, the arrangement had to be correct if no one was to be upset. The usual order had the chiefs at the rear of the house, with the first ranked in the middle and the succeeding positions on alternating sides of him, or perhaps in a single row beginning from the right as seen by the speaker facing the entrance. War chiefs would be seated in a double row down the middle of the house. The rest, including retired chiefs, sat along the sides, men on the right and women on the left. At a feast, long mats, running the length of the house, were unrolled before the guests. The host first sang a feast song then his speaker announced what the particular occasion was and where the food that was being served came from. There were many courses. Between each course, young men would serve fresh water for drinking and washing hands. Extra food was often on hand so the guests could be given "left-overs" to take home. The guests, in appreciation, gave small presents to the hosts. Entertainment was provided by singers and dancers while the speaker or a special jester clowned for laughs, performing funny imitations and feats of excessive eating or drinking. The war chiefs also ate enormous amounts. Finally the host thanked the guests for coming and asked them to remember the reason for the feast.

Feasts could serve to distribute food. Between groups, the special food resources of one could be enjoyed by another as in the following case described by Drucker (1951:372-73). His spelling of native names is altered to be more like that used in this book.

> It is related that once the **qāʔyōkw'atḫ** war chiefs began to remark that they wanted to be invited to a sockeye feast by the owner of the first sockeye rights at Queen's Cove, the **ʔīḫatisʔatḫ-mowach'atḫ** chief **m'okwina**. (The Queen's Cove group was independent, not belonging to either the **ʔīḫatisʔatḫ** or **mowach'atḫ** confederacy; Chief **m'okwina** held rights there for a time following a marriage to the daughter of a Queen's Cove chief). Chief **m'okwina** heard the news . . . He announced that he intended to bathe ritually to bring a good sockeye run, and delegated 4 men to make 200 bundles of nettles to rub his body with. He began his ritual bathing, and as a result the sockeye were soon jumping all over Queen's Cove. His next step was to set his 4 traps, and to have some women cut and dry 400 of the sockeye for him. He sent a party to **qāʔyōkw** to invite the war chiefs. Meanwhile he readied his feast dishes **wi'ta'aik** and **woɬwoɬwohai.**
>
> In a few days the **qāʔyōkw'atḫ** arrived in three large canoes. The combined **ʔīḫatisʔatḫ** and Queen's Cove people assembled on the beach to meet them. The war chiefs with faces painted black, danced, flourishing guns and knives. Chief **m'okwina** gave his guests a small feast of sockeye and dried herring eggs announcing that the real sockeye feast would be on the following day.
>
> In the morning the war chiefs assembled in the house of the **tlichyaʔatḫ** chief to break their fast, and to practice their songs. Then they were called to Chief **m'okwina's** feast. The two great dishes were brought in, one filled with rice and molasses, the other with herring eggs and whale oil. The 400 dried sockeye were piled in a great heap nearby. All the **ʔīḫatisʔatḫ** had assembled, in the role of hosts; they sang as the **qāʔyōkw'atḫ** entered. Then an **ʔīḫatisʔatḫ** chief stood up to speak for the host:
>
> "Chief **m'okwina** was very glad to hear you people wanted to eat dried sockeye from Queen's Cove, because the **qāʔyōkw'atḫ** and **ʔīḫatisʔatḫ** tribes are just like one family, and you can ask for anything you want. All Chief **m'okwina's** tribe, the **ʔīḫatisʔatḫ**, have helped him prepare these sockeye for you."

> Then the **ʔīḫatisʔatḫ** sang a chantey. The **qāʔyōkw'atḫ** replied with a song. Then the chief who acted as the hosts' speaker called on one man for each of the two dishes, and the two named, with half the party to assist each of them, sat at the dishes. They arranged themselves so there were 20 men at each dish (10 on either side). After they had eaten, the two war chiefs to whom the dishes were assigned gave gifts to **m'okwina**, one giving him a gun, the other a good woolen blanket.
>
> They moved back away from the dishes, sitting on long mats. Each man was given 20 dried sockeye, only 2 of which were cooked. They ate the cooked fish, then made ready to leave. **m'okwina** gave a sealing canoe and an iron kettle to the men who had given him the gifts. In addition to the 18 uncooked sockeye, which each man was to take home, they were given other "left-overs" including baskets of herring eggs.
>
> Now they were ready to go home, but it was stormy and raining so they stayed over a couple of days. Other chiefs feasted them. Finally they set out for **qāʔyōkw** and that was the end of the affair, except for the gleefully told sequel that the war chiefs were stormbound for 6 days on the way home, and ate up all the sockeye, reaching **qāʔyōkw** at last with nothing but the herring eggs, which they had been unable to clean of the fir needles.

The West Coast people were a fun-loving people. It is easy to lose sight of this quality when trying to describe their social institutions with all their serious complications. The existence of individuals who acted as clowns has been mentioned. You may be curious about their kind of humour. The following is an example of a skit by two **qāʔyōkw** clowns satirizing ceremonial, taken again from Drucker's detailed work on the Northern and Central tribes (1951:270-71).

> **yōmotq** and **wowoʔih** were the two speakers of the **t'ashīsʔatḫ** chief at **qāʔyōkw** and were clowns as well. (**yōmotq** was of fairly high rank; he owned the third corner of the house and held a good many privileges in his own right. **wowoʔih** was a commoner.) They liked to clown whenever a feast or potlatch was being given. They kept their paraphernalia in a battered old box which they called their treasure chest (**hōpakwonom**). On one side they had painted a frog and on the other a fish. They always dragged it out to the centre of the house, with a great fuss, when they were performing. (The **t'ashīsʔatḫ** chief owned a very large elaborately painted treasure chest of Kwakiutl provenience.) Once they found some kind of a cast-iron "face" washed up on the beach (apparently a piece of ornamental ironwork), which they painted and put in their treasure box. At a dance they brought it out covered with cedar bark. They announced they had encountered a new supernatural being; it was alive, but they didn't

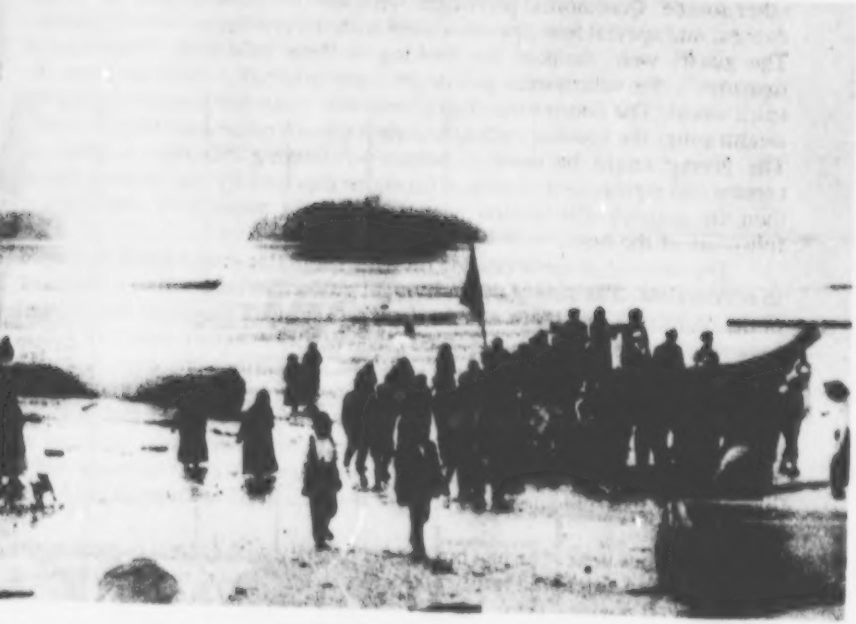
know what it was. Women were called out singly to unwrap and identify it for them. As each woman was about to touch the bundle, one of the clowns would jiggle it to make it seem to move. The women were all afraid (or pretended to be); none of them would open it. The clowns made long speeches thanking each for trying, and very ostentatiously gave her a payment —a silver 5-cent piece. "It was very funny the way they talked about the 'money' they were giving (as though it were a great sum), then give those little coins you could hardly see." (Calling a person out to perform a ritual act, and "paying" him for his performance was a common ceremonial device.) Then they unwrapped the "face" themselves, singing that it was a White man's supernatural being.

POTLATCH

"Potlatch", **pałâch**, is a word from the Chinook Jargon, or simplified trade language, which may come from the West Coast **pach'itl**, "to give". Potlatch giving of goods was done mainly by chiefs, primarily to transfer chiefly rights and position to their successors upon social occasions like times of major change in the life cycle, or the great Wolf ritual ceremony. Chiefship was commonly transferred while the heir was still a youth, establishing the succession firmly so that rival claims hardly ever arose and to discourage the competitive potlatching by rivals for the position. Except in rare cases, the West Coasters did not emphasize competition, the shaming of rivals, destruction of property, or cheating, in their potlatching. Good feeling prevailed, and the aim of the performance was to do as well as their great ancestors did (Drucker 1951:383-84).

To stage a potlatch, a chief began with a feast for his group to announce his intentions and to plan the event. For a major potlatch, like the one at the puberty of a chief's daughter, a new house might be built. Supporters volunteered contributions. If other groups were to be invited, another feast was held to form an inviting party. This party, often including the chief and sometimes the child to be honoured, went by canoe to the other groups, arriving singing. Through a speaker the purpose of the mission was loudly announced and the names of the village's chiefs were called out in order of rank. This automatically invited the followers of these chiefs as well. To remember them, the speaker, as he called out the names, threw down cedar splints in two lots, one for the chiefs with potlatch seats and the second for the rest. The canoe, occupants and all, was then often carried up to, and sometimes even inside, the house of the top chief of the invited village. The inviting party was feasted, entertained, and given gifts by the village chiefs. When the party returned home, the host chief held a feast again to tell what each of the invited chiefs had given and to finalize plans for the ceremonies surrounding the potlatch.

When the guests arrived, both they in their canoes and the hosts on the shore before their houses, were all in special ceremonial dress, singing and dancing. Each guest was invited to stay with friends or relatives. If the



Guests arriving for a potlatch at Opitsat and being carried ashore in their canoe to the accompaniment of two drums and a welcoming song. (BCPM:PN 2727)

potlatch was one associated with the Wolf ritual, to be described later, the principal novice to be initiated into the Wolf ritual society would be kidnapped dramatically as the guests were arriving. The visitors were feasted and given gifts by different chiefs of the host village before the main event. Then the ceremonies began with the names of the guests being shouted out loudly from the top of the host chief's house, all in proper order of rank. Chiefly guests were escorted, one by one, to their seats inside. There was a set number of named potlatch seats for each group whose holders engaged in the giving and receiving between groups. Generally people were arranged as for feasts, with the hosts at the entrance end when they were not serving food, dancing, performing ceremonial displays, or distributing gifts.

Usually the feasting came first. When the potlatch goods were brought out by the young men, the chief stood and, through his speaker, announced in whose honour and on what occasion the potlatch was being given, what was to be given away, and where the wealth came from—whether from his property rights, followers who helped, potlatch gifts he had received in his potlatch seat from other groups, gifts received by the inviting party, or any other source. Ceremonial privileges were also announced, and the songs, dances, and special features associated with the privileges were displayed. The guests were thanked for looking at these inherited "supernatural treasures", for ceremonial privileges were originally obtained from the spirit world. The goods were then given away while the host chief sang his wealth song, the speaker calling out each guest's name and the gift given. The giving might be done in stages—following different displays of ceremonial rights, first in return for those received by the inviting party, then the potlatch distribution proper, and lastly presents to contributing followers of the host.

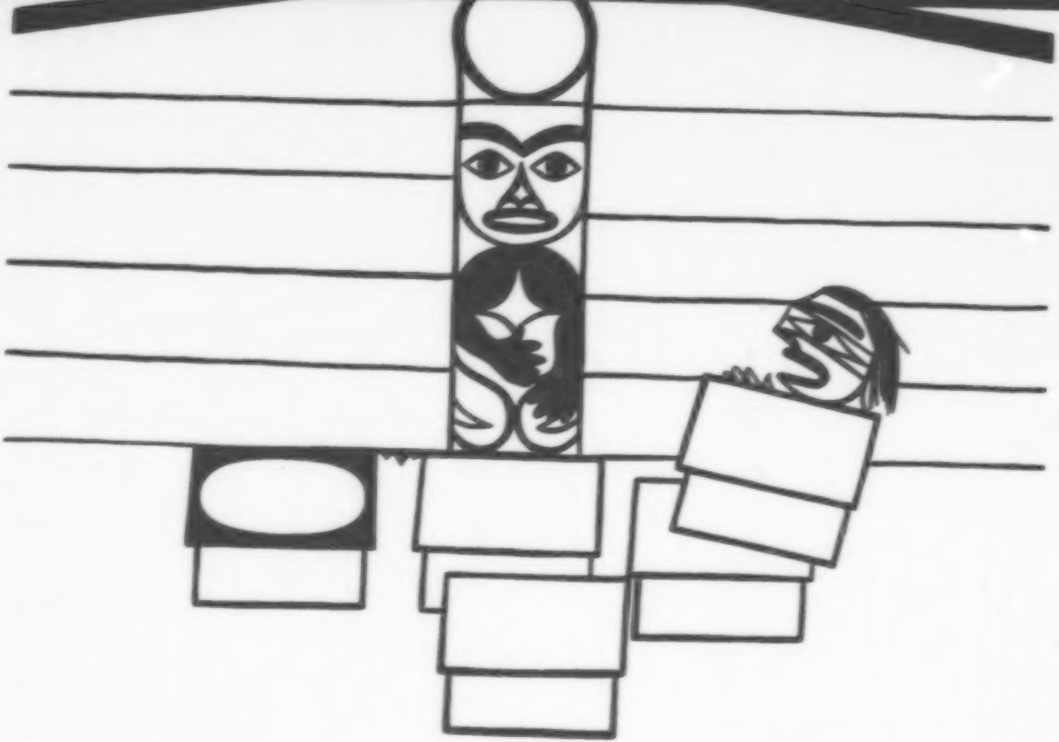
The amount given depended on what the potlatch donor had managed to accumulate. The size of the individual gifts varied according to the rank of the recipients, but there was no fixed rate or strict proportioning related to rank. The potlatch donor amassed much of the necessary wealth of goods through his own efforts, although substantial contributions were provided by kinsmen of high rank in junior lines of descent to the chief's and also by some of his commoners who had means. Although the chief reciprocated with gifts for such supporting contributions, they were not regarded as loans to be repaid. A consistent major supporter might be given some right, like a minor fish trap site or a war chief name, that bound him closer to the chief.

Potlatches were returned but not necessarily with greater or even equal wealth. Even a chief who rarely potlatched, continued to receive according to his ranked position (Drucker 1951:381). There was, however, a secondary form of potlatch in which the amounts given back and forth escalated. This was an elaboration of the invitation visit with a chief going to another tribe to display his ceremonial privileges and give blankets or money to the chiefs there, who then gave back more than they received. The chief and his party returned home to hold another potlatch giving still more to the invited tribe, which then ended up ahead; however, this third potlatch was sometimes omitted. Generally giving and returning evened out in West Coast potlatching. Wealth circulated and was consumed while hereditary rights were validated by their active representation in ceremony, rights and their associated social positions were transferred, and the lines of social descent through male or female ancestral links were publicly recited (Drucker 1951:385; Rosman and Rubel 1971:104).

A couple of accounts of particular potlatches from the native point of view are given below to give an idea of their flavour and perceived significances. The first one described is a nineteenth-century, oil potlatch given by the great chief of the **p'ăchĭdătx̣**, the southeastern-most tribe on Vancouver Island, to his neighbours of Cape Flattery (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:299-300).

kwĭstox̣'s *Big Potlatch*

The people of the inside region (around Victoria) heard that **kwĭstox̣** was going to invite many tribes. He set out and went across. He had only his wives and his slaves with him. He went to the place called



kwīstox's big potlatch. (Painting by Tim Paul)

ʔosił, seaward of Neah Bay, where there are many whale hunters. The **ʔosił** are a tribe of whalers. He landed. He said he was after oil, that he was going about looking for oil. The seaward tribe plotted to set their price up. My! They valued it high, a measure was really expensive. The women alone were buying. They had all kinds of beads and things to buy with and their sea-lion bladder was filled up. They were there another night. They began filling another bladder.

My! **kwìstox̣** got angry at the way he was treated. At night as soon as the tribe went to sleep, he went to bathe and to do ritual for buying. He would make their spirit weaken. All night long he blew spray from his mouth and prayed. At dawn he returned to his vessel. The morning came as he sat in his canoe without having slept that night. As soon as the people came out in the morning, he told his slaves,

"Bring the goods down to the beach, so we can set out. It is good that the tribe here wants to keep their oil, because none of the tribes will come to buy. They will be afraid because the news will travel quickly that the price has gone up. I will tell them of my bad luck."

They brought the goods down to the beach. My! Two seaward people came to help him pull his vessel out.

"I will take your blankets. I have oil in the house. My price is the same as always. My price hasn't gone up," they told **kwìstox̣**.

They dragged his vessel. They did not pull it right into the sea, but only brought it to the edge. He unpacked his bag of blankets. There were two who came to sell oil. They shouldered the blankets and carried them up the beach. Well! They bought and it was measured out. The large measure sold for a double blanket. They put it into a large cooking vessel. It had a notch where it came to two measures. My! Down the beach came two full sea-lion bladders, each worth five blankets. Again those first two who came to sell oil carried blankets up the beach.

"Only I have good oil, only I have good oil," said the seaward people.

He did not take notice of the people talking to him. He only bought of the first ones to come to him. They each received 15 blankets. Then he bought from two others. He used up 40 blankets and got ten bladders of oil.

Then he stopped and loaded in the goods. He returned home and landed at **kanâyit**. They carried the oil up the beach. Then they had someone go in a canoe to invite the tribes of the inside region. They invited the **ʔìʔiłx̣wa**, the Clallam, the Victoria Tribe, the **chìyânox**, the Sooke, the Neah Bay Tribe. They invited 20 of the Seaward tribe.

The tribes came to the feast. They all entered. For lunch they had wild onion root, though the Salish tribes were eating dried halibut. At night came the Salish tribes, along with the seaward people they had invited. He had a long house with a middle door. Since he had his younger brothers living at both ends, the house was very long. Now **kwìstox̣** poured oil on his fires.

"O Tribes, this firewood was obtained at **ʔosił**," he said. "I went there to fetch wood that you might have fire while in my house. The **ʔosił** Tribe plotted against me. But I did not seek oil in order to become rich. The whalers of different tribes do not want their oil to drip away. That is what I am now burning while I have you by the fire."

Thus he used nothing but oil as fuel as long as they were in the house. He was pouring oil of the seaward people on the fire as he spoke in that manner. That is why he invited them to be among his guests. My! He distributed many gifts to the invited tribes.

There were two famous chiefs when I was a boy, Becomes-Ten of Nootka Sound and **kwìstox̣**. That was what **kwìstox̣** did to make the Seaward tribe miserable, the ones who did not give him oil. His fuel consisted entirely of good whale oil, which he had just recently bought with many blankets. Well, I have come to the end.

Much significant detail is contained in such native accounts. Being in the people's own perspective, they give especially good insight into their world, their thoughts and feelings both in specific circumstances and in general. The above account, a translation of a text dictated by a great **ts'ishâʔatḥ** trader, Tom Sayachapis, reveals the contending interests that could come into play in a trade exchange. The **ʔosił**, characterized as a tribe of whalers who lived seaward of Neah Bay, which is just east of Cape Flattery, raise the price of their whale oil, for higher profit no doubt. Only the women of Chief **kwìstox̣'s** party are able to buy a couple of sea-lion bladders of oil with beads and other items, probably the White mans' trade goods from Victoria because the account is of an event that took place in the middle of the nineteenth century. **kwìstox̣'s** angry reaction is to retaliate by doing bathing ritual to weaken the spirits of his opponents in what has become a price contest. His associated realistic action of physically breaking off his trade visit by having his slaves bring his goods back to his canoe and stating that no tribes would come to buy **ʔosił** oil for he would spread news of the raised price, turns the trade situation to his advantage by effectively forcing the **ʔosił** to see that their oil would not sell at the high price and to return to the usual rate of a double blanket for a large measure. West Coasters were accomplished traders.

There is a typically West Coast mixture of hard bargaining and an ultimate aim of prestige rather than material profit. Also, of course, **kwìstox̣** puts down the **ʔosił** before several other tribes "of the inside region", as people from Juan de Fuca Strait were considered, by destructively burning the oil they had worked to produce at his potlatch. The action is in retaliation for the **ʔosił** trying to better **kwìstox̣** in trade as well as to display his wealth and power. He also gives out many gifts. The potlatch was the reason for his trading; he says that he did not seek the oil to become rich. Certainly his consumption of it was a wastefully conspicuous display, but **kwistox̣'s** fame as a great chief rests partly on memories of this occasion among the West Coast tribes.

The next example of a potlatch is also of an exceptionally grand one given by the other famous chief of the storyteller's boyhood, Becomes-Ten of Nootka Sound. The occasion was the building of a house with an extra high roof, a claim to extra greatness which Becomes-Ten bolsters by giving away blankets in an overwhelming fashion. Many interesting details about getting sea otters, harbour seals, and oil from drift whales (ten in a season!) to buy trade blankets, occur in the description of preparations. There is also a reference to the making of the old-style, yellow cedar bark blankets, highly valued by the older Kwakiutl guests at the potlatch. The description of the blanket potlatch will give an idea of what one was like. It amply demonstrated the greatness of Chief Becomes-Ten. The account (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:304–306) is as follows:

Becomes-Ten Gives a Potlatch

We heard that Becomes-Ten, the Nootka Sound chief, was building a house. It had four thick beams. We heard he was starting to put the beams up. They were square. We also got word they were four boards long and four thicknesses wide. Two beams were close together in the middle of the house, three fathoms apart, and on that were placed cross-beams, two handspans wide. It had a ridge roof. We heard that the roof was on and that it was very high. One did not hear the rain, the house was so high. We heard that Becomes-Ten's house was very high.

The **qâˀyôkw'atḥ** chief spoke about it. "Wonder why he wants the house so high. Wonder what he will put on the rafters to dry."

Becomes-Ten heard that he said it. He gave a feast for his neighbours, the whole tribe including the women.

"I want you because of what I heard the **qâˀyôkw'atḥ** chief says of me, O Nootka Sound people," he said. "You will indeed go hunting on the water. Now go hunting, so I may put things up to dry in my house. Sea-otter hunters, you will now hunt sea-otter. Bark-pickers, women of Nootka Sound, you will gather bark, find things with which you can acquire a small blanket. You will sell your sea-otters, you hunters of otter, and turn it into blankets."

He said this in the winter time to get ready for when the heat came through.

"You who are good blanket makers will work."

He ordered a hundred women weavers of Nootka Sound to make blankets. They began. They trimmed all they made with sea-otter. The bark gatherers collected cedar bark. They used it as trade goods for blankets and went peddling among the **ˀâḥôsˀatḥ** and the **tlaˀôkwiˀatḥ.** The hairseal hunters hunted seals as trade goods among those tribes. The sea-otter hunters hunted sea-otters. There were two leading sea-otter getters in the tribe, one called **tsahsôta** and another called **kwâtiplya**. The Nootka Sound Tribe worked one summer and finished as winter came.

Another summer approached and they went to **yokwâł**, their summer village site. Becomes-Ten also caused ten whales to drift on the rocks and thereby got many additional blankets. Now he gave a feast and all the men and women of the tribe came.

"Now, give me all the wealth you have obtained, neighbours," spoke Becomes-Ten.

First the women who had been weaving brought out to view one hundred good yellow cedar blankets, which the old time people used for robes. Women who gathered bark showed four or five or as much as six blankets they had bought with cedar bark. The hairseal hunters had six or eight or ten to show. Sea-otter hunters had one hundred or two hundred. The two outstanding hunters each had four hundred. All the people in the tribe, two hundred of them, gave their two, six, ten, or twenty. The blankets amounted to many, because all contributed.

Then he asked people to be in his crew when he set out. They went to the Nimkish and Kwakiutl, **ʕâḫôsʔatḫ**, **tlaʔôkwiʔatḫ**, **qiłtsamaʔatḫ**, **qâʔyôkw'atḫ**. There were many inviters. Then the inviters arrived. They said they carried them along on the sea. The Nootka Sound people now got wood. Becomes-Ten's firewood was two and a half fathoms long, green rawwood, alder, spruce; they got thick logs a man could hardly reach around. He had collected food: dried herring, herring spawn, dried halibut. The tribes began to arrive. The **tlaʔôkwiʔatḫ** came in early. Becomes-Ten was half **tlaʔôkwiʔatḫ**.

All the tribes entered in the evening. They lit a fire in the house. They started putting wood on the fire. It got to where the men putting on the wood could no longer reach it. Underneath in the fire was very dry split wood. Then they put on lengths of pitchwood. The fire was set in the middle of the room. Still the heat was felt all the way to where the people were along the walls. The smoke hole in the roof was opened. Becomes-Ten's house was lit up.

When the guests had been there ten days, they got ready to distribute the gifts. They would light the fire and pile on wood just once for all day, because they were burning rawwood. All the tribes entered in the morning. Becomes-Ten was about to potlatch. They brought a big box of blankets out to the centre of the room. **tlaʔôkwiʔatḫ** were handling them. They spread yellow cedar robes for the bottom of the pile. The tribes counted up to a hundred. Those were as a pad underneath. Then they started laying out the cotton blankets one on another in a pile a blanket wide. Soon they could not reach standing on the floor. They stood on boxes. A couple of very big **tlaʔôkwiʔatḫ**, Lumpyleg and Collapses-Them, were handling the blankets. The pile became wobbly because it was so high.

"Well, stick poles into each side," said the overseer.

They stuck four poles into the floor with their ends sticking up through the roof. The men kept throwing on and spreading out blankets. For a while the tribes tried to count, but they lost count about halfway up. It passed halfway. They went on to the roof side and threw the blankets on from there. It came up to the centre beams. The poles were tied in the middle to keep them from spreading apart. My! They came near the roof boards as they kept piling on.

The blankets went up through the roof. There were still a lot of blankets on the floor. Darn! Now Lumpyleg could not reach standing on the roof. My! High boxes were passed out through the roof. They stood on the boxes on the roof and kept piling it on. Just when they could no longer reach again, the blankets on the floor gave out. This happened when they could no longer reach standing on the boxes.

Lumpyleg slid down. He spoke, "O Tribes, do you see now? Becomes-Ten has put things on his rafters to dry. Wonder if he will put things on the floor. It is said it is now set on the floor. Look, it is sticking out the roof. I can't reach it, as tall as I am."

nânitsì, the **qâʔyôkw'atḥ** chief who had talked before, was shamed. The ropes tied between at the bottom were loosened. The props at the sides were pulled up. The blankets fell through the roof and scattered about. From the roof they scattered all over. They were potlatched as they lay thus on the floor. The many scattered blankets were set before the tribes. Ten blankets were given to the Kwakiutl chief, **awawatì**, and ten to the Nimkish chief; but the **qâʔyôkw'atḥ** chief was given twenty. They gave six apiece to the chiefs of different tribes. But the blankets hardly diminished. The older Kwakiutls fought for the yellow cedar robes, which they valued highly; they ran out onto the floor.

Thus Becomes-Ten put things on his rafters.

KINSHIP

Kinship and rank were fundamental in the organization of West Coast society (Drucker 1951:219). Kinship ties, through either male or female lines of descent, determined where each person fitted into the order of rank of a group. The particular kinds of relationships also governed social actions, thoughts, and feelings to a great degree, so that, as among many non-urbanized peoples, West Coast society was largely based on kinship. The names for the various relatives distinguished, or the kinship terminology, can be divided between relatives by blood or birth and those by marriage, "in-laws". First a brief description of one or two characteristics of the West Coast kinship system may be helpful. It is a generational system (known as "Hąwaiian" from the type of system) in that the generations are emphasized as major lots of relatives, many of whom are lumped together as the same kinds of named kinsmen. For instance, aunts and uncles are both known as **naʔìqs**, and so are the cousins of the speaker's parents. Mother and father each have a distinct name, as would be expected in the parental generation. In the grandparental generation, however, all blood relatives are **ĉanìqs** or "grandparent", including those we distinguish as great-uncles and great-aunts. All those in the grandchildren generation are **kâʔôts,** "grandchild". Great-grandchildren and great-grandparent generations are similarly named the same.

The children's generation is divided into child, **t'an'a**, and nephew and niece, **wìʔô** and **ʔâsiqs**. In one's own generation, blood relations are distinguished first by whether they are older or younger, if siblings. If cousins, they are senior or junior to each other according to the standing of their respective parents. Second cousins would be named as older or younger according to the age relationship of the grandparental sibling pair linking them by blood. For brothers and sisters and cousins there were only two basic terms, **m'âm'ìqs** for the older one and **y'okwìqs** for the younger. But additional names exist to label different combinations of siblings distinguished by sex such as **q'ìk**, a pair of brothers; **m'aʔaḥ**, sisters; **ḥachischi** or **ɬôtssmôpchanik**, brothers and sisters together; **ɬôtssmôp**, sister of a male; **m'aʔaḥsqiqs**, sister of a female; **ḥachimsiqs**, brother of a female; **q'ìkwâtssy'i**, brother of a male. Children could be distinguished as older or younger by adding a qualifier to the word for child, adding **tâyì**, **yaksya** or **m'âm'ìqs** for older and **ʔanox̣**, **qaɬatik** or **y'okwìqs** for younger, or **ʔôʔâts** for second oldest (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:249).

Certain relationships for pairs were distinguished by special terms, such as **ʔaschiḥ** for "parent and child" and **hitsnop** for "husband and wife". I will not attempt to discuss the relatives by marriage as I have the blood relatives, which by their basic terms are easily distinguished by generation, relative age and, in some cases, sex. The in-law terms are similarly uncomplicated to the West Coaster using them. In the list below, the term **chin'opsiqs** for husband's brother or a man's brother's wife, for example, from the West Coast woman's viewpoint applies to those her husband calls "brothers" and those married to her sisters; while for a man it means just the wives of his brothers (Sapir 1910–12:XVII, 44). In the following list the Southern dialect names are given in brackets after their equivalent in the Northern and Central dialect (Arima field notes; Drucker 1951:277-8; Sapir 1910–12:XVII, 42–44; Sapir and Swadesh 1939:244–316 vocabulary list).

Certain patterns of behaviour and feeling characterized kin relationships. Parents and children were close, but grandparents and grandchildren were even more warmly linked since children often lived with their grandparents much of the time. Uncles and aunts were like parents, and a niece or nephew could help her or himself to their things without getting scolded. There was great familiarity between married adults and their parents-in-law, too. Brothers and sisters were not supposed to be familiar, however, and, from about eight, a girl was seldom spoken to by her brothers. After marriage, sisters and brothers became less distant though still not very familiar. Brothers and sisters, which include cousins on the West Coast, could not marry even if distant cousins. But, if the relationship was so far back that the steps could not be traced, they could marry to get hereditary

Table 1. West Coast kinship terminology.

Blood relatives (Southern dialect in brackets)

n'ow'īqs (doʔow'īqs)	father
ʔomʔīqs (ʔobʔīqs)	mother
t'an'a, ʔanax̧ (yādax̧)	child
m'ām'īqs (bābīqs, female speaker; **tāyīd**, male sp.)	older sibling (brother or sister), cousin by an older sibling of parent or grandparent
y'okwīqs (same in Southern, fem. sp.), **qaɬātik (qaɬatq**, male sp.)	younger sibling, cousin by a younger sibling of parent or grandparent
naʔīqs (hadīqs)	uncle or aunt, anyone called **m'ām'īqs** or **y'okwīqs** by your father or mother
wīʔō	nephew
ʔāsīqs	niece
kāʔōts	grandchild
nanīqs (dadīqs)	grandparent
tlāyitsqim	great-grandchild
ʔonīqs (tlaʔoxtaqsob)	great-grandparent

Relatives by marriage

ʔotshai (yaqsḥaqs)	spouse (husband or wife)
yaiyakpiɬ, m'aʔōɬ	secondary wife
qwīʔiqs (qwaʔaqssādaqs)	child-in-law, parent-in-lav and brother or sister of parent-in-law
ʔiyīqs	spouse's sister, wife of a brother of a woman
chīn'opsiqs (chiʔibsaqs)	for a man his wife's sister or his brother's wife; for a woman her husband's brother or her sister's husband
:īktshishtso (:īkssiqs)	a brother's wife or a sister's husband
ʔowīqs	all those married to uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces; child of a spouse's sibling; step-child; step-parent
ʔoʔōwitspaɬ	step-sibling
m'aɬt'i	all relatives of son-in-law, daughter-in-law, or parent-in-law; parents of spouses of uncles and aunts plus their siblings, parents, uncles, aunts, grandparents and on back.
kwātsḥi	grandparent of wife or husband; spouses or grandchildren

privileges back into a senior line of descent from a junior line where they had been split off. But between husband and wife there was often discord and unfaithfulness, mainly because parents arranged marriages, with social rank their prime consideration. Girls were raised well shielded to protect their innocence. Boys, too, were quite inexperienced with the opposite sex.

LIFE CYCLE

The life of an individual may be generally described as beginning with pregnancy and birth (Boas 1891:591–94; Curtis 1916:41–43; Drucker 1951:118–50; Sapir 1913; 1921). At the life crises, or crucial changes in state, West Coasters observed many protective rituals and made public announcements of the change with ceremonies whose elaborateness varied according to rank. While expecting, a mother observed numerous rules to have an easy delivery and a healthy baby. She could eat or drink almost anything except leftovers and old water which could make the child stay unborn past its time. She did not pause in doorways because that could prolong birth. Line-tangling activities like weaving, basketry, and cat's cradle could snarl the umbilical cord. To see death, or the land otter, was harmful to the unborn child. The mother generally stayed quiet, and kinswomen did most of her chores.

Birth took place in a small temporary hut near the house, with the woman's mother helping. The cord was cut with a mussel-shell knife. Massage helped expel the afterbirth. Secret family herb medicines might be used to ease delivery. For unusual difficulties, a knowledgeable medicine man might be called. The newborn baby was gently worked to be well formed, arching the eyebrows, for example, or raising the palate, and seeing that the internal organs were placed properly.

For four days following birth, the mother and baby stayed in the birth hut. Broth made from black cod might be given to the mother to stimulate milk production, and drops of dogfish oil given to the infant. In a mat cradle the baby was kept properly positioned with cedar bark pads, the legs bent and the sides of the head, and the brow, pressed by pads to produce the ideal flattened forehead, at least among the Southern and some of the Central tribes. To the north the head was likely wrapped to produce a long narrow shape. Calves were made to bulge by binding the legs above and below them (Sapir 1921:236). The baby might be given partly dried blubber to suck (Curtis 1916:40).

After those four days of post-birth confinement, the afterbirth, wrapped in shredded cedar bark, was buried, to the accompaniment of ceremony to improve the child, such as singing special songs to make him or her a good singer, or including a chisel or adze to induce woodworking skill. The ears were pierced, as well as the nose, at least for a girl; the noses of boys were pierced later. Ear and nose piercing might be delayed by a chief until he could stage a potlatch for the occasion. At or just after the ear piercing, at a small feast to announce it, the child received the first of its many names. After 10 days, among Northern groups at least, the baby was transferred to a wooden cradle big enough to be used for about three years, and the mother came out of seclusion.

For a year the mother continued to avoid certain foods which might be harmful to her nursing infant. Through infancy and childhood, secret family rites and medicines were frequently used to gain health, strength, and special qualities. Twins were believed to be closely associated with the

Salmon Spirits. Since the abundance of salmon depended on the special care of twins, their birth involved strong prohibitions and prolonged isolation for from one to four years in a remote camp, for both the twins and their parents (Boas 1891:591-92; Curtis 1916:41; Drucker 1951:127-28; Jewitt 1815:173-74).

Childhood

Children were brought up with a great deal of verbal instruction emphasizing correct social behaviour and ritual knowledge. The children of chiefs were told to be kindly, helpful, never arrogant, and to take care of their people with feasts and generosity to gain their affection and loyal support. When someone said anything mean, they were not to quarrel but just walk away. Children of commoners were told to play carefully with the children of chiefs, helping and never quarrelling or fighting. Children were encouraged to be peaceful, responsible, and industrious. Bad behaviour was corrected not by physical punishment but by a talking, typically about the shame such behaviour brought to the family. Family traditions, consisting of reviewing hereditary rights at length, were used to teach the child where they originated. Little stories of current happenings taught them about social relations and the sorry consequences of mistaken actions. Practical demonstration was also used to teach.

Parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents imparted technical skills. Older children also communicated basic skills like swimming, canoemanship, and the use of weapons. As puberty approached, boys started going along with their fathers on fishing, hunting, trading, and other expeditions; girls were kept indoors as much as possible learning womanly tasks like cooking, basketry, and robe and mat making. The first animal killed by a boy, or the first berries or clams gathered by a girl, were celebrated by a feast in honour of the child.

Play was the main occupation of childhood, however. Imitation of adult activities was common, and there was a great variety of games (Drucker 1951:444–52). There were play feasts and potlatches, Wolf Ritual performances, dances, shamanizing, archery, spearing, slinging, stone throwing, hoop and dart, tops, shuttlecock, ring-and-pin with the humerus or "arm bone" of a seal, cat's cradle, native dice, lehal or the bone (or stick) game, hide-and-seek, tag, tug-of-war, mock war, and dolls. There was much to do outdoors, and a lot of time was spent by and on the sea, playing with canoes (Sapir 1921:243).

Puberty

Although puberty was not especially marked by observances for boys, for girls it was a major event. A girl's first period was the occasion for her parents' greatest potlatch, as grand as possible according to rank and wealth (Boas 1891:592–94; Curtis 1916:42-43; Drucker 1951:137–44; Sapir 1913; Sapir and Swadesh 1955:243–53). The specific observances of the girl's puberty rites varied with family and tribe. In a typical Central West

Coast ceremony, four to 10 great torches of cedar splints, standing for the months of tabu to be observed, were held in a row outside the house with the girl in the centre between a pair of dancers in masks representing the mighty thunderbirds or whales. Four times, four men fetched water in dishes to spill at her feet in symbolic purification. She then went inside into seclusion at the rear wall behind a screen which was of boards with a painted design for the chiefly and of mats for commoners. For four days she sat there fasting. Girl friends kept her company, singing **t’amâ** songs which had improvised verses and were very popular. The torches were put out and given, with gifts attached, to certain guests who had the right to receive them. Family songs, dances, and games were staged. **t’amâ** songs were sung with improvised lyrics of sexual fun and making requests for specific gift items. Often the requests were known in advance so they could be fulfilled immediately. Others were delivered later during the several days of celebration, often with extra items added. Smaller gifts were distributed to the guests generally. Feasting and announcement of the girl’s new name ended the potlatch, at which other relatives might change names as well.

The girl’s seclusion ended with purifying bathing, typically in a deep pool of a creek, and hard scrubbing with bundles of hemlock twigs. Pebbles might be dropped as a magic rite for easy future childbirth. The puberty ceremony, among Central groups at least, might be followed immediately by the Wolf Ritual to initiate the girl and other suitable children into its society, adding another week to the celebrations. Lighter seclusion, with restrictions, continued for a number of months during which the girl wore special hair ornaments decorated with rows of dentalium shells and interwoven with mountain goat wool, if she was from the chiefly class. The girl did not eat fresh fish or game, possibly to avoid contaminating the primary food resources. She did not touch her hair or body with her hands but used a comb or a scratching stick. Venturing outside, she kept a cape about her hair. She rose first and retired last. At the end of the long period of restrictions, a feast was given and perhaps also a potlatch. Following her puberty rites, the girl, especially if she were a chief’s daughter, kept largely indoors under supervision and practised quiet, demure conduct until marriage.

Boys had no special puberty rights but as they began adult pursuits they became subject to rigorous training rituals including fasting and not sleeping. Youths and young men tended to be overshadowed in tribal life by the dominanting mature men. They tended to be apprentices and assistants in economic and ceremonial activities.

Names

An individual had a number of names through life. Names were changed mostly before maturity as, in turn, new ones were assumed at feasts and potlatches through the sponsoring efforts of the parents who sought good social standing for their child. Names were inherited through ancestral lines of descent through males or females. The origins of these, usually grandiose, names involved detailed explanations; many came in

A girl from Hesquiat, photographed by E. S. Curtis. (PABC:D-8448) dreams about power-giving spirits. The history of the previous owners of the name was known and the new owner tried to live up to the glory of the name that they had brought to it, at least for a high-ranking name.

The manner in which a new name might succeed an old one is shown in the name changes of **ts'ishăʔatḫ** (Sapir 1921:23–34). His first name, given at birth, was a nickname made-up on the spot with no ceremonial significance. Still as a small child, at the potlatch mourning his deceased father, he took the name of **tl'i'nitsawa** or "Getting Whale-skin", a name which had originated when a chief of a subdivision of the tribe made it up for his son. It was based on the fact that the chief remembered that little boys used to come for slices of skin when his whales were towed ashore. Next, at a feast given by his grandfather, **tl'i'nitsawa** took his boyhood name of **ḫaw'itkomotli**, "Having-chiefs-behind". This name originated with a great-great-grandfather who received it in a dream from a spirit whale. This ancestor had much success whaling and had become very rich, leaving the other "chiefs behind". The next name, **konnoh**, "Wake Up!", also came from an ancestor's dream while he trained for whaling power, and was assumed at a naming feast given by his **dītīdātx̣** grandfather when the boy was about 10. At a potlatch he gave before marriage, he took another young man's name, **nawiʔik**, "Come Here!", the command given by a spirit whale in a dream to his mother's father. Finally, at his greatest potlatch for his daughter's puberty, he became **sayach'apis**, "Stands-up-high-over-all", a name eight generations old which a chief had obtained while doing ritual training for wealth power. This name originated from a dream during which the Sky Chief spirit appeared, saying, "Why are you sleeping, Stands-up-high-over-all? You are not really desirous of getting wealthy, are you? I was about to make you wealthy and to give you the name Stands-up-high-over-all." Spirits spoke ironically.

Marriage

West Coast marriage was an alliance of families rather than a union of the bride and groom alone (Drucker 1951:286; Sproat 1868:97). Marriage ceremony varied in particular form and degree of elaborateness. Girls married at about 16 or younger, while boys were about 20 or older, although later in the nineteenth century boys too were marrying at about 16 (Brabant 1930:84). It was not uncommon for girls as young as eight or 10 to have their brideprice paid by chiefs who wanted to marry them before other chiefs did, but such child brides remained with their parents until about 16 (Koppert 1930b:49–53). Virginity was prized and guarded between puberty and marriage by close supervision. Still there was secret courting with whispering through cracks in the walls of houses at night and even stealthy visiting (Curtis 1916:65).

Chiefs commonly had more than one wife for they could afford to make repeated brideprice payments (Drucker 1951:301; Moziño 1970:32). For his first wife, a chief had to choose a woman in the direct line of descent of a chief of equally high rank and acceptable to his group. She became the head wife for whom later wives were supposed to work. Multiple wives, or polygamy, was prestigious for it indicated wealth, but it often made for an unhappy household full of friction. When the co-wives were sisters, there was less quarrelling. When husband or wife died, it was common though not compulsory, for his brother or her sister to take his or her place respectively in the marriage.

Marriage was arranged by the parents or other guardians of a couple marrying for the first time, the youngsters being supposedly ignorant of the proceedings. There was child betrothal, mostly for the chiefly, with the parents pledging blankets in the period after European contact while, in earlier times, furs and other native valuables were likely used. The brideprice for a girl was well known, at least in blankets. A man who was betrothed could offer the brideprice year after year, for three years, after which it was either accepted, which ensured marriage, or was rejected. If rejected, the betrothal was cancelled, the betrothal pledge was forfeited by the girl's family, and there were bitter feelings. Betrothals were generally firm; however, some were broken when a greater chief or, in more recent times, a rich White man, later came after the girl. It was also possible to cancel a betrothal by mutual agreement. Then, when the betrothed were of high-ranking families, the pledged blankets were ceremoniously cast, from canoes, one by one, into the sea.

There were several ways of marrying. These differed in the degree of ceremonial elaborateness and the richness of the gifts exchanged, according to rank and to whether the marriage was a first one or not (Drucker 1951:287–303). For a first marriage without a preceding betrothal, the boy's father would send a marriage proposal party with an able speaker to present the suit. When there was a choice available between two or more suitors, rank was the primary factor in gaining the consent of the girl's father. A chief with an only daughter, however, might prefer a suitor of slightly lower rank because such an individual, as son-in-law, would come to live in his house so that he could keep his dear daughter at home. For the chiefly, at least, it was the custom for the girl's side to resist entering the proposed marriage at first. The suitor's side then had to send marriage parties repeatedly.

If the marriage proposal was accepted, the prospective groom's father gathered his group together at a feast to announce the impending marriage, plan ceremonies, and perhaps ask for help in meeting the brideprice though contributions were usually volunteered. For the marriage, the groom's party typically came by water to the bride's house, even if it was in the same village. A pair of big canoes, joined together with planks, provided a floating stage for ceremonial display (Boas 1891:594). Approaching the shore, the groom's party sang its chief's marriage songs and displayed other prestigious rights like masked and costumed dances representing powerful supernatural beings. Thunderbird, Whale, and Wolf were favourite ceremonial representations. The speaker for the party stood on the beach and after each right was performed, he praised the great ancestry of the groom. He orated loud and long, often for hours. He traced the ancient relationships between the families. Finally he called out the name of each recipient for the brideprice, which was given in the bride's house, in parts, to her group. As a rule, the brideprice was refused at first and returned to the beach. For up to four days the groom's party might be kept waiting outside on the beach, continuing to sing, orate and offer the brideprice until at last the bride's father relented and through a speaker told the spokesman for the groom's party to stop talking, indicating acceptance of the brideprice.

Then there was a ceremonial suitor's test with the bride's group using two to four of their marriage privileges or rights designed for the purpose. These tests were usually games or contests of skill, strength, or courage such as running a gauntlet of flaming torches, enduring sitting by a fire made blazing hot, climbing a greased rope, walking a horizontal pole which was swinging freely at one end, or lifting and carrying a very heavy stone. The groom's side might have to get past a line of strong men who barred access to the bride's house (Boas 1891:594). There were prizes for the winners of the contests. These prizes, after White contact, were commonly blankets or money. There could be arrangements made to let the groom win; the torch gauntlet, for example, was parted when he finally made his run after others had failed.

A feast and a potlatch distribution of gifts from the bride's side to the groom's followed. The bride, dressed in ceremonial finery, danced formally for the groom's party. She was then either taken to her new home, or delivered later if her puberty observances still had to be finished or her dowry was not complete. When the bride reached her husband's home, her new in-laws danced, feasted, and heaped gifts upon her. If the groom was of a chiefly family, he or his father endowed the bride with rights to territory, natural resources, ceremonial privileges like potlatch seats, names, songs, and dances. Commoners were often loaned privileges by their chief for use in marriage ceremonies. A dowry was furnished by the bride's family at the marriage or when the first child was born. Contributions to the dowry were made by kinsmen who had received parts of the brideprice. A chief's daughter was given various hereditary privileges to be passed, eventually, on to her children. In case of childlessness or divorce, such rights reverted to her family. Exchanges of gifts, principally foodstuffs, continued to be made from time to time between the two groups allied by marriage.

Elopement, or the marriage of older couples which was not their first, of course, was legalized by much simpler ceremony. A few of the man's kinsmen or friends went to the woman's family to give a small amount of blankets or money, usually without any performance of ceremonial privileges. The bride's side gave no dowry, though a few gifts would be given in return.

Divorce was a simple matter of separation, the wife was either sent back to her family or she left voluntarily (Curtis 1916:67). If the marriage had been one where the groom had gone to live with the bride's family, he was sent back, or returned to his group, on his own. The goods exchanged at marriages which had broken up, were not returned, but hereditary privileges were. Where the children went, whether after a divorce or a death of a husband, was a problem because both sides would want to keep them. The children would side more with the people who raised them. Usually the claim of the father's side was stronger. If the wife died, the children remained with their father's group without much question since they were usually already there. Divorce, however, most often was caused by childlessness and therefore did not involve a problem as to who should have the children. Another frequent cause of divorce was incompatibility. Unfaithfulness, however, was usually smoothed over unless it was persistent. Couples were told not to be jealous of each other when there was adultery. More severe consequences were noted by a Spanish observer late in the late eighteenth century for adultery with a chief's wife. If the adulterer was a man of rank, he was banished. If a commoner, he was killed. The woman was whipped (Moziño 1970:43). Faithfulness was a highly regarded virtue, and early White visitors to the West Coast noted the virtuousness of the women. Women slaves, who were sometimes offered for prostitution, were an exception. Later, in the nineteenth century, when men went off for half a year at a time to hunt fur seal commercially in the Bering Sea, casual extramarital relations were more prevalent. Stable marriages were admired but most persons had more than one mate over a lifetime.

Death

At death, the life principle, located in the heart, stopped, and the soul, located in the brain, left through the top of the head as a tiny shadow-like double of the person. The soul eventually became a ghost or an owl, at least in later, nineteenth-century belief (Drucker 1951:156; Sapir 1921:366). Before that time, it was believed that the souls of chiefs, of persons killed in battle, and of good men who had always prayed to the Sun and Moon, went to the land above, where it was always fine; the souls of the rest went to the poor underworld (Boas 1891:597; Curtis 1916:44; Moziño 1970:28; Sproat 1868:209–14). Those who had been decapitated in war had their faces on their chests in afterlife. At death, the spirits of several dead relatives came to escort the soul to the afterworld. The dead ate mainly spring salmon and charcoal. They stayed in dwellings like those of life, and each tribe of dead was located beneath its living counterpart. A soul thus lived on, having the spouse who was the foremost one in life, having spirit children, and continuing to age until eventual expiry (Curtis 1916:44).

Cause of death could be for physical reasons, like severe injury or drowning, or from several kinds of illness caused supernaturally by disease-objects which had entered the body, loss of the soul, possession by a spirit, or evil magic spells (Drucker 1951:205-06). Old age, ending in sickness, was another cause of death. The aged, and those who had long been ill, were sometimes abandoned far from the village (Sproat 1868:256-57). Autopsies were performed when witchcraft was suspected as the cause of death. Also the fetus was removed from a woman dying in advanced pregnancy. This was done for the father's protection since he too would die if something so closely connected to him was left in the corpse (Drucker 1951:149-50).

Disposal of the corpse took place quickly because death was feared. Burial, for the chiefly, was in a box or, sometimes, a canoe while commoners were simply wrapped in mats or old blankets and put in shallow graves covered with sticks and stones (Moziño 1970:29; Sproat 1868:259). By the late nineteenth century, however, all were being buried in boxes or canoes that were placed in a tree or on posts, or in a cave, or on a prominent point (Drucker 1951:147–49). Small islands were often special burial places. Twins and deformed infants who died, and their parents as well, were given special burial, laid out on mats with a covering robe at the entrance of a cave as though gone to bed. A suicide in a deadfall set for a bear was cleared of the logs, wrapped and left there. A corpse in the house was taken out through the side wall by removing a few planks, not through the entrance else the souls of the young might follow it (Brabant 1930:59). If the corpse was transported to the burial grounds by water, it was towed in a separate canoe. Those who handled it would bathe before returning to the village.

Mourning ceremonies for chiefs were elaborate, including a potlatch, but simpler for commoners. At death, or even before it came, the women wailed and lamented for hours. Near relatives blackened their faces, wore poor clothing, cut their hair short, to just under the ears for men and shoulder length for women, ate little, and walked with a stick as if very weak (Curtis 1916:44). The personal property of the deceased went to the eldest son who chose what he wanted and distributed the rest to his brothers, sisters, and other relations. The belongings of a childless man went to his wife; those of a childless woman, to a sister or other close relative. An unmarried woman's belongings went to her mother or close relative; an unmarried man's to his parents or the family he lived with last. When a chief was near death, the tribe might gather in his house to hear a speaker recount his great achievements during life. His personal effects might be distributed to recipients in order of their rank (Sproat 1868:261-62). Belongings were also destroyed, by burning, if the dying person wanted to take them with him to the afterworld. Often the house was burned as well as considerable other property (Drucker 1951:150; Sapir 1921:366). Various valuables might be deposited with the dead. One chief, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was buried with 24 prime sea otter pelts in his box (Jewitt 1815:136).

For persons of high rank, a memorial post was erected which bore a painted crest or a carved figure representing a notable quality of the deceased (Sproat 1868:260–10). For a leading chief, the memorial could be an elaborate set of large painted sculptures in wood as, for example, in the Thunderbird and Whale monument to one of the later chiefs called **m'okwina**. A hunter might have a carving of the animal he most often pursued put on a pole or in a canoe by his grave (Curtis 1916:43). After a chief was buried, two or four songs of mourning were sung in his house and a feast was held at which his heir announced his assumption of the chiefship. A potlatch was held later, after the necessary preparations such as the amassing of goods and the invitation of other tribes. Property was distributed and announcements were made, such as the planned destruction of the dead chief's big ceremonial canoe, the shelving of certain of his ceremonial privileges for a year or more, or forever, and the prohibition on using his name, as well as words containing elements of it, for a year or two. In due time the name tabu and suspension of privileges were removed by the succeeding chief, again with potlatches. Lower-ranked chiefs and well-to-do commoners who died, had a feast given for them at which gifts were given only to the chiefs. Their names were not formally tabued, but their use was avoided for a time, especially when those who had been close to the deceased person were present. A chief's death might be honoured, as mentioned before, by killing his slaves or people of other tribes with a sense of compensating retaliation. When a chief lost someone special, like an eldest son, he often sent warriors to kill and cause sorrow in another tribe to alleviate his own sorrow (Curtis 1916:43).

NATIVE ACCOUNTS OF SOCIAL LIFE

The foregoing description of West Coast social life is but a bare outline. Native accounts afford a livelier, insider's view. They are focussed on specific happenings and persons, in all their complexities; however, native accounts make it necessary to go over many of them to gain a comprehensive picture of West Coast existence (*cf.* Sapir and Swadesh 1939; 1955). Two accounts of the crucial social event of marriage are given here as examples of the native viewpoint. Both are much concerned with the hereditary rights which are ceremonially displayed and transferred between the groom's and bride's parties. These privileges are called by their correct native term, **topāti**. They are at the heart of West Coast social organization. Many specific details are mentioned in the following accounts, both of which are about **ts'ishāˀatḥ** marriages, yet they actually cover only the essentials of the proceedings in the native view. In the quotations, some of the explanatory endnotes have been inserted into the translated texts in brackets, while other extra words bracketed in the original translations have their brackets removed. The songs of the first account would be sung by the teller, Tom Sayach'apis.

Tom Marries

(Tom wanted to marry a girl in his own tribe, but arranged for his Nitinat relatives to act for him. 'Uncles' includes relatives of parents' generation, whether or not they are blood brothers to one's parents. Tom is called 'son' by the Nitinat speaker, but this is only rhetorical.)

"Uncles," said I to the ten Nitinat chiefs, "you are to woo for me."

"Very well," said the Nitinat chiefs, my uncles.

Twenty went together to woo. The one whose name was Koayik spoke,

"Listen to me, O chief, the one who desires to woo you is my tribesman. He is my son, half Nitinat and half Tsishaath; consequently, you are not to say, 'I wonder why he has another tribe wooing for him.' Indeed he is my son and the son of all the ten chiefs here on your ground. You will take my thought, O chief, since you have had this ceremony for a long time and will always be addressed in this way, when you have a daughter, by people taking her away; since you are a chief who never casts out suitors when addressed in this way, take my thought, O chief, for you have this sacred ritual in this place where I am now speaking. Let your mind become favourable, for you are always that way if you are a chief. Take pity on me and look on this **topāti** here on the ground, your **topāti**, for this **topāti** of yours has been stepped within. I have ten fires as a **topāti** and I have the lightning-serpent."

I now finished wooing. My **topāti** remained on the ground there for four days. (All this time Tom was camping with the Nitinat.) Then the father gathered together absolutely all of his relatives of the Tsishaath tribe. The Tsishaath tribe accepted the **topāti**.

"Come and take the **topāti** back there." said the father of the girl.

The Tsishaath brought back the **topāti** and arrived at my residence.

"Very well, perform your ritual, his **topāti**. Start the marriage ceremony tomorrow," said the Tsishaath band.

I assembled my relatives at night. I took the Waninath band and I took the Nashasath, and I took the Maktliath. I got my songs ready. At daybreak boards were pulled down and war canoes were boarded over with the boards. The people got onto two canoe platforms. We rounded the point.

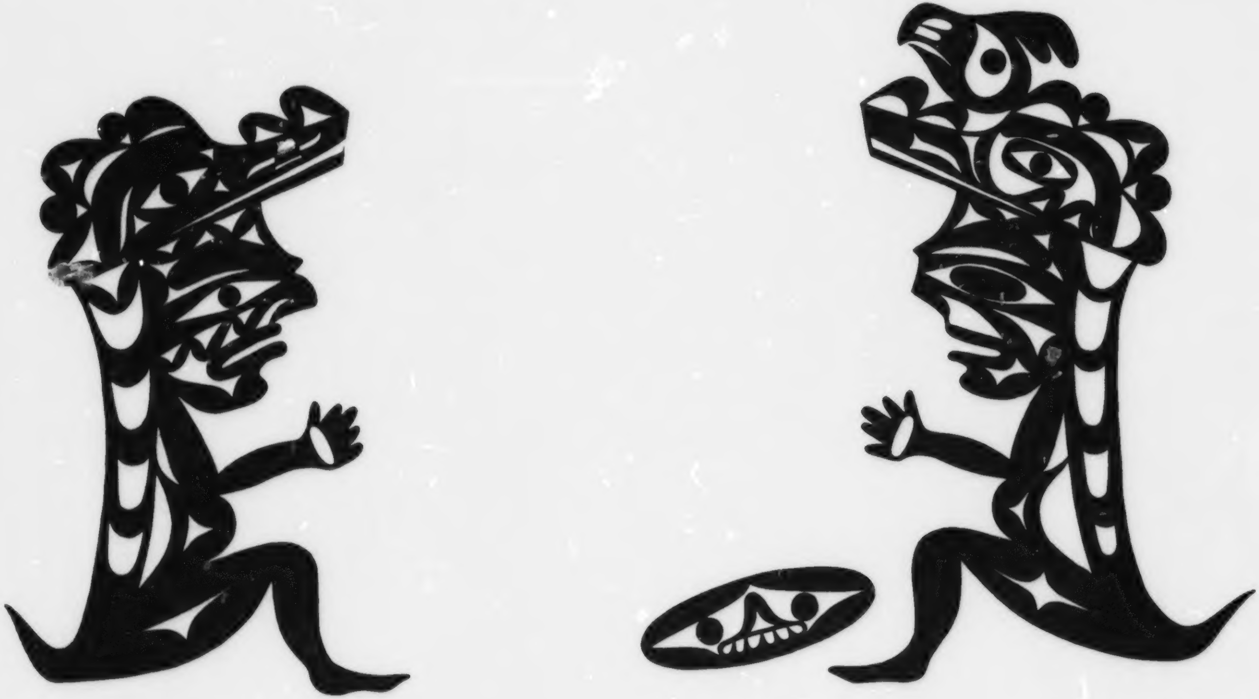
hiyayyanga hahahanga
My lightning-serpents face each other on the beach
When I marry from tribe to tribe.
My lightning-serpents glide about
When I marry from tribe to tribe. (Serpent mask dances in.)

They took off their head-masks there in the house. The Lightning Serpents took off their robes. They piled their robes and head-masks together. All came outside. I took up another song,

hi hi he . . . haha . . .
I have ten abalones. (Sung with swaying dance.)

I took up another song,

He has feathers on his head,
Our chief.



"Listen to me, O chief, the one who desires to woo you is my tribesman." (From *Tom Marries:* painting by Tim Paul)

ho . . . ahayya . . . hoho ahayya . . .
walah imtlats hamalikala
himtlats yaokshlala
hayya . . . haho hoho . . . (Sung with changing masks dance.)
Thunderer yai heheyo . . . (Sung with Thunderbird dance.)

Four times they did it and then they stopped. There were four **topātis** of mine when I married Witsah.

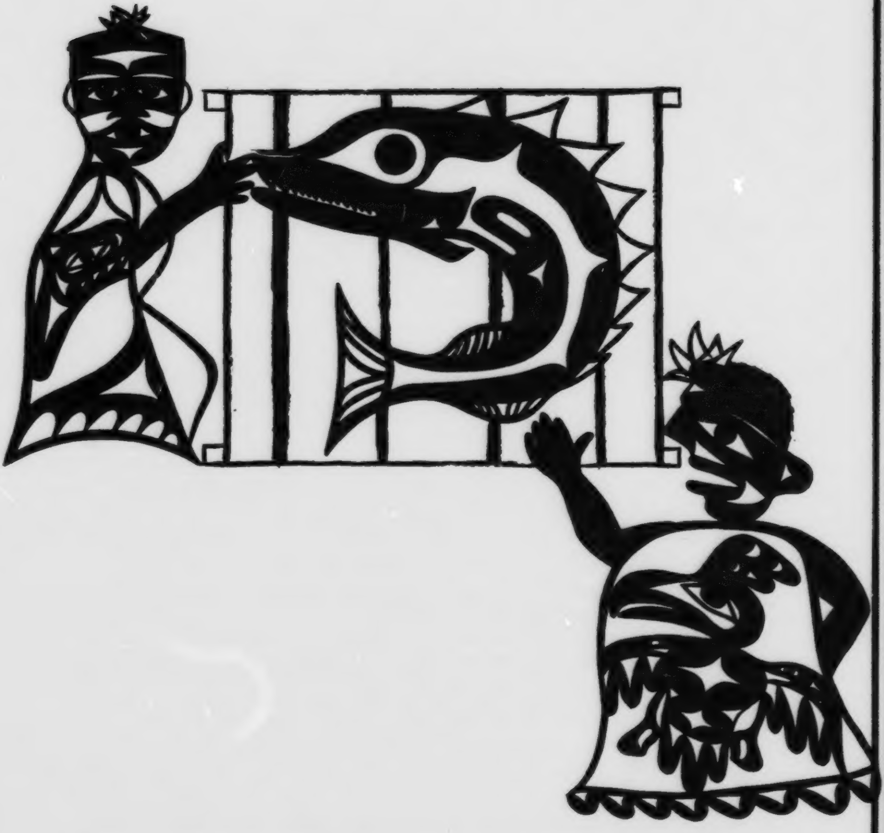
Then the father of Witsah took his **topāti,** called springy-device. This was a long sapling this big around. There was oil with the sapling. My people, since I was the one marrying, got on it. They would go so far and then fall to the beach when the sapling bent. It was not long before one of my people made it, walked it without falling down. I obtained the **topāti** as mine. Another **topāti** was brought out and set up on the beach; it consisted of a board on the beach. My people began throwing at it to find out who could throw hard enough to split it. A strong one split it. The **topāti** became mine. (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:137, 139).

Captain Bill's Marriage

Walk-down-at-intervals (probably Captain Bill's older brother) acted as wooer; he went to Yohwaytsa of the Burntfront sept (lineage group) to ask for his oldest daughter. Her name was Keas. Then he wooed again. He put up his wooing **topāti**, which stood erect on the beach and looked like a man with feathers on both sides of his head. It was returned to him. He wooed again. They came back again and said, "Come and get the girl now!" (The suit is not always accepted at first. Acceptance is indicated by taking in the suitor's **topāti**.)

All the men, women, and children began the ceremony of getting the girl. They performed a **topāti**. The **topāti** represented the moon. Another **topāti** was Thunder along with lightning serpents. Still another was a whale. There were three **topātis**. Then they performed for us, who had performed first. They had four fires (torches held an inch apart in a gauntlet) which one tried to get through. None got through except Mentioned-by-name and Braided-hair. There was another **topāti.** Two sticks were set up like this (converging at the top) on the ground with a rope in between fastened to the two poles sticking up from the ground. A man, Kills-them-before-they-come-out, got out of a canoe and took hold of the rope. The owner of the **topāti** told him to try to reach the top of the poles by climbing the rope hand over hand. Kills-them-before-they-come-out took hold and pulled on the rope. As soon as he started lifting himself, the **topāti** broke. He succeeded. (Breaking the **topāti** is considered equivalent to meeting the test in the regular way.)

Another was a painted device made of boards which one tried to get through. The boards did like this, came together edgewise at



"Yohwaytsa, the owner of the **topāti,** said that it represented the sky cod-fish, who is said to be called Sky-cod." (From *Captain Bill's Marriage:* painting by Tim Paul)

> intervals. Yohwaytsa, the owner of the **topāti**, said that it represented the sky cod-fish, who is said to be called Sky-cod. Attacking-from-overhead and Distending-nostrils made it. Thus they finished the tests and obtained the girl. Our marriage payment consisted of thirty blankets. Later the father brought the dowry gift. He enumerated dam-traps on the river for cohoe and also funnel-traps for dog-salmon and tyee salmon. (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:177).

The salmon traps mentioned at the end of the account of Captain Bill's marriage as the dowry from the bride's father are rights of great material value. They would be inherited by the children born to the couple.

Long verbal instructions were frequently given to educate the young. A good example is provided by the advice given by Tom Sayach'apis to his grandson, Alex Thomas, who recorded it and regarded it very highly. Although too long to be reproduced here in its entirety, a portion is given to illustrate the ideal conduct recommended for being successful in West Coast society by secret ritual and being good to others.

> *Tom Gives Advice to his Grandson*
>
> Don't sleep all the time. Go to bed only after having drunk water, so that you will wake up when you need to urinate. Eat once at midday, then go to sleep with that much food in you so that you will not sleep soundly. As soon as everybody goes to sleep, go out and bathe. Further, if you go for a walk in the daytime, go looking for a stream far away. Rub yourself with yew wood so that you will not be shamed by your fellow youths; for you would be shamed if you were not manly, if only your fellows were manly. Work your mind all night taking up one thing after another to decide what you will strive for, whether you should learn wood-working or sea-mammal hunting, or become bold in whaling or in the accumulation of wealth.
>
> If you want to become very wealthy, as I was in my prime, don't sleep with many coverings, for you might then sleep too soundly; indeed you will if you have many covers on. When you come in while cold, hold a cedar stick in your hands, for it is said ghosts are afraid if one is holding a stick . . . When day comes, be sleeping in the house with your face hidden, even though you will again be active at night. In that way, your fellows do not know and think you are a sleepy-head.
>
> Rub your hands, make all the branches (rubbing medicines) and every little thing tell you what to use when your occupation becomes known to you, so that you may become a getter of many birds, so that you may get many by snaring, so that you may be a marksman in shooting, so that you may get many in trapping. They say that a young man who just waits for the right time does not get anything. He succeeds only if he has the Wolf Ritual spirit from the start and trains for various little things while growing up . . .
>
> Do not lose account of your mind as long as you are a person. Sit against the wall in the house working your mind, handling it in such a way as not to forget even one thing, that you may not wish to do evil,

that you may not mock an old man, that you may not mock an old woman. Take up the orphan child who has no mother or father and say, 'Dear little fellow!' Take him to your home and feed him well so that he will think highly of you. The children to whom you do so remember you when they grow up. Then they will help you; if you come to the beach with a canoe-load of wood, they will start unloading it for you and they will help pull the canoe up on the beach. Take to lousing the little orphan child. Take to lousing the little old man warming his back on the ground; he will then give you advice and important secret lore.

Give aid to the one handling something alone. Carry moving goods for the one who is moving or the one who is packing things alone or boarding over canoes, so that he will think well of you, so that he will have you as chief, so that he will not speak ill of you, so that he will not curse you; for it is said that people curse after one if one is bad, so that he does not reach the peak of life (living out the full span). A person who wants to be bad never reaches the peak. Take in the pitiable-looking old person. Say as you take him in, 'Come, my good fellow, that we may eat together!' Be willing to do everything so as to be well off and not poor, so that old people may come to you at once when you bring in different kinds of fish in your canoe, desiring to eat it.

Do not make yourself important. Anyone who makes himself important is not manly. Gather mussels and sheep's-feet, gather clams, gather many sea-cucumbers, gather abalone and sea-eggs, so that your neighbours will have you as chief. It only requires an energetic person to cook it as food. People have as chief the one who looks after them. All one needs is a way of cooking the food, because they will eat enthusiastically the various shell fish of the rocky sea-bottom if they are cooked; even that which looks bad when raw has a good taste when cooked.

Do not desire to do a rash thing with a girl, to want to take hold of her, for you might cause her parents to be ashamed . . . Do not want to be a lover of the wife of a married man, for he might curse you because of it. Do not follow the young man who is a bad bully. You might do what he wants you to do, for that is his nature, while you have another mind, since you are a chief, that you may be a good chief, that you may be respected; for they will then also be that way to you. What your neighbour has brought home in his canoe he will likewise give you. The one who has brought food in his canoe and wants to do so will invite you alone; for it is the law of the Indians to return kindnesses to the one who looks after them. Then the other chief who is not so treated feels badly.

If your neighbours begin to fight and wrangle, the other chief is unable to separate them and to make them stop fighting; then you step between them, make for the middle of the crowd where they are fighting. Speak gently, using a kindly voice. Say, 'Now stop, O chiefs, stop, stop!' Say, 'O chiefs' to both sides, that they may heed you when you say in a gentle voice, 'Now stop!'; use a kindly voice so that you may be good, so that your neighbours may consider you good. Then start talking, saying, 'Now you will become good toward each other, for you are neighbours to one another, for you are chiefs' . . .

I would say in advising her, if I had a girl, that she should also be willing to pick all kinds of berries and fruit, so that you may say to the old people, 'Come and eat!' so that they may say to you, 'Come and eat—the princess has a lot of fruit in her house,' so they may say of you, 'The princess has brought home a lot of fruit in her basket.' Learn everything, all there is of weaving work, for you will not take your mother along when you are made a slave (married) by someone; so that you may make a man of your husband, even though you should marry someone who is not manly, for I would be ashamed if you made him unmanly.

Learn to do every kind of weaving work. If you see a man, speak kindly to him even though he be a stranger, so that he may not swear at you. They say that girls are always sworn at if they are silent when spoken to. If a person enters your house while you are weaving, let your work basket go. Take a good mat and have him sit on it. Don't hesitate because you happen to have clean hands. Say that you will wash your hands; when you are through cooking, let him eat.

When you marry into a family, look after them, so that you will likewise be looked after. When you get up, go at once and get wood and start the fire. Say, 'Come and eat!' and feed the ones amongst whom you have married. Then, when you have finished feeding them, wash your hands and take up your work . . .

Further, let me bring to you advice as to men's things. Be a carpenter, be a maker of canoes, for you would not be manly if you had to go about the beach seeking to borrow something in which to go out to sea. Be a maker of spears and paddles; be a maker of bows and arrows; be a maker of bailers; be a maker of herring-rakes and scoop-nets for herring, for it would not be manly to lack them when you came to need things of that sort of order to get fish by net-fishing in the season of net-fishing in this river, when the season for sockeye salmon comes, when the season for cohoe salmon comes in the fall, when the season for steel-head comes in winter, when the silver salmon come into season in the spring. (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:185, 187, 193, 195, 197).

Chapter IV. THE LONG PAST OF THE WEST COAST PEOPLE

History Before Written Records

History, in the true sense of a string of events in the lives of men, has happened whether or not it was recorded in writing. As long as some kind of record, written, oral traditional, or archaeological remains exist, history is known, to a varying degree, by the nature of the record. Since, like most of the peoples of the world, the West Coasters lacked writing, the bulk of their history, before the arrival of Europeans, can only be known through traditional remembrances extending back perhaps a few centuries, and archaeological evidence which goes back several thousands of years but lacks details on specific events and individuals. The long past of the West Coast people is largely available to us only through the archaeological record.

The West Coast people and their culture dates back to about 2000–3000 B.C., according to the best archaeological evidence currently available from the excavations at **yokwăt** or "Yuquot" village in Friendly Cove, "Nootka Sound" (Dewhirst 1978). From the evidence furnished at this site and others, a long cultural history has been pieced together which, more or less, represents what happened over several thousands of years. At Yuquot the basic information came in the form of some 5,000 artifacts and bone, antler and shell, indicating resource utilization, and all placed in time by their location in four strata of deposits dated by the C14 or radioactive carbon method. The evidence indicates ". . . a single culture evolving conservatively for more than 4,000 years" (Dewhirst 1978:12).

Although there is no indication of any earlier different culture or people on the West Coast, archaeological investigation is still at an early stage there so the possibility cannot be precluded. At the moment, however, West Coast history, before written records, has been divided into several periods (Dewhirst 1978:13–17), as follows:

1. The Early Period, 2200–1000 B.C., had tools like pecked and ground stone blades for chisels or adzes, stone hammers, bone wedges, bone awls, stone abraders, and sandstone saws which, taken together, suggest a wood-working technology as sophisticated as in recent times. Fishing is also indicated, but the salmon, so important in West Coast life today, may have been less abundant before 3000 B.C., or less easily and constantly available (Fladmark 1975:195–208). Such a condition concerning salmon would, however, have been a factor only for the earliest beginnings of West Coast culture which likely predate 2200 B.C., a date obtained at Yuquot without going as far back as the beginning of the deposits. Whale bone occurs in this period, but whether the whales were hunted or simply found beached is not determined. At its earliest, West Coast life might be characterized as ". . . a shoreline culture with heavy reliance on nearby forest resources and marine oriented toward small inshore fishes and birds" (Dewhirst 1978:18).

2. The Middle Period, 1000 B.C.–A.D. 800, shows much the same assemblage of tools. In addition, a cedar bark shredder of whale bone is present as an important indication of the use of shredded cedar bark for clothing and other purposes typical to the West Coast people. The main pursuit was fishing for salmon, cod, and small inshore fishes like snappers, rockfish, and perch. An important supporting activity was hunting sea mammals, though with harpoon heads that did not toggle nor had socketed bases as they had later. The harpoon head type is not thought to be suited for whaling and, although many artifacts are of whale bone, the bone could have come from drift whales. Most artifacts are of bone from land animals, or antler, indicating that deer and elk were often taken.

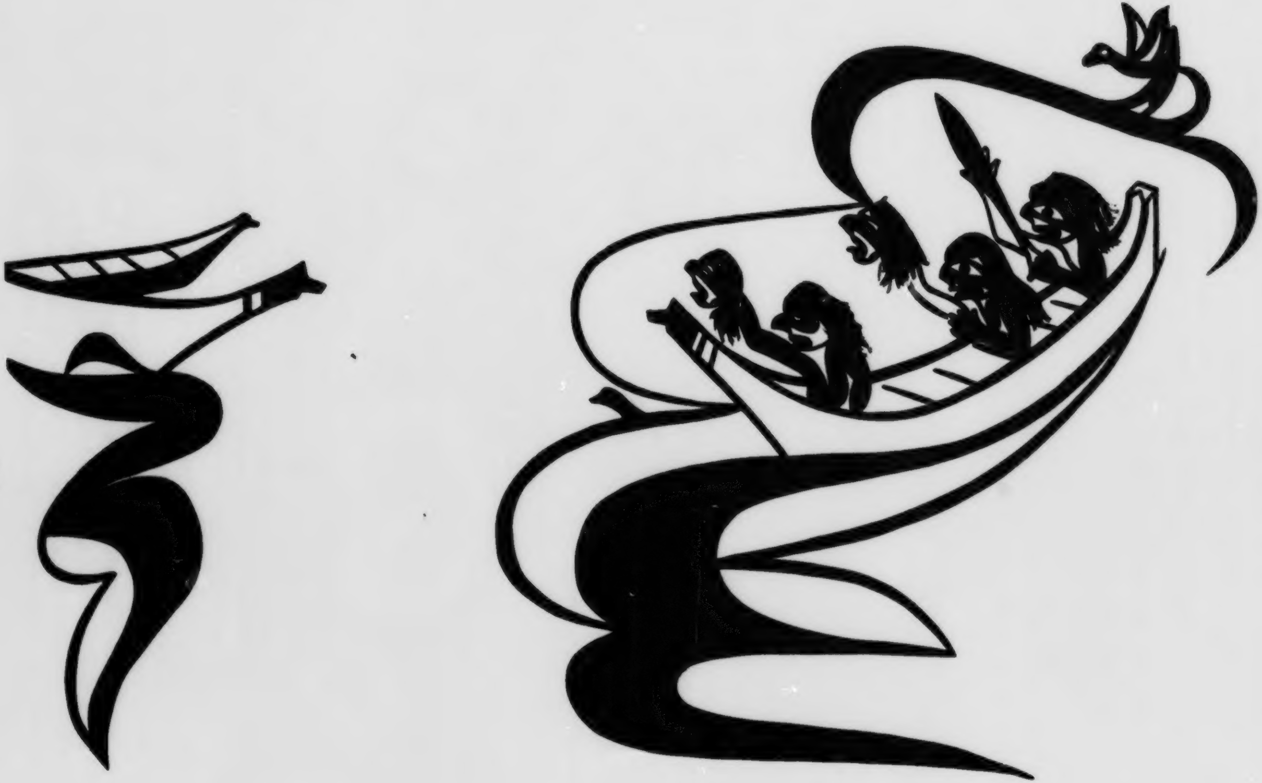
3. The Late Period, A.D. 800–1790, shows an increasing maritime orientation. Fishing continued as the primary pursuit with more refined and specialized hooks. Harpoon heads for sea mammals and salmon changed to the toggling, socketed "female" form in recent use. Many sea mammals were hunted. It may be that during this period West Coast whaling was invented by groups forced to live outside on the open coast the year round for lack of rights to inside places, as oral tradition states. The last has been summarized by Drucker (1951:99), as follows:

> In brief, it is conceded by most of the tribes that the art of whaling originated at the old village of tsaxsis, on the outside of Nootka Island, and at tatcū, outside of Esperanza Inlet, where it was an indispensable part of the food quest. There are no important salmon streams in either vicinity, so the former inhabitants are said to have depended on whaling for a livelihood as the other groups dwelling on the inlets depended on salmon fishing. The art diffused to the other tribes gradually, principally through intermarriages with the tsaxsis and tatcū chiefs, and came to be a symbol of chieftains' greatness rather than a basic subsistence source.

4. The Recent Period, A.D. 1790–present, is, of course, dominant by contact with the White man and the resulting profound changes, better known through written records, including those made of native recollections.

WARS

Turning from archaeological reconstruction of the whole of the long past of the West Coast people to their oral traditions of more recent times, we find that much of what can be considered historic happenings are about wars. Everchanging as the human world is, wars, terrible as they are, mark change, particularly in social and political relationships, and insofar as history is a record of change above all, it tends to be much concerned with wars. Although quite gentle and non-violent in ordinary peaceful life, in war, the West Coasters became bloodthirsty, seeking to annihilate the enemy by surprise massacres and taking slaves and trophy heads. There



Returning with the trophies. (From *Making War:* painting by Tim Paul) was a typical pattern to West Coast warfare the features of which can be described in order of their occurrence (Drucker 1951:332–44; Swadesh 1948).

The most frequently given reason for war, in recorded accounts, is revenge (Swadesh 1948:86). Raid and counter-raid followed each other as in a feud. Attacks could extend to those helping or inciting the enemy. Retaliation also resulted from murder, stealing, enslavement of a relative, rough treatment, and insult, to which West Coasters were highly sensitive. Revenge was the common immediate reason for fighting, and some affront could usually be invoked by a chief bent on war to arouse his people against another group. As in all group action, chiefs, and war chiefs, took the initiative.

A deeper major reason for war was to gain land. Groups that did not own good salmon streams might try to gain one by force. When the people of Ucluelet Arm decided to get a salmon stream before the White man came, they first sent a party out visiting their neighbours to decide, after feasting around, who had the best salmon. Then they successfully warred on the Namint people exterminating the group and taking their territory with its fine salmon (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:362–67). The **!āḥōsʔatḥ**, too, exterminated their **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** neighbours early in the nineteenth century to get dog salmon streams (Drucker 1951:344–53). Invading up the Alberni canal, the **ts'ishāʔatḥ** evidently killed off the **ts'ōma!asʔatḥ** to take the sockeye-rich Somass River (Sapir 1910–12). Also after sockeye streams were the **qw'idishchiʔatx̣** of Cape Flattery, who took over Nitinat Lake for a period, apparently long before White contact (Chief Jones, pers. comm.). Plundering was done on raids, but the gain of portable goods was not a prime reason for going to war. Neither was the taking of heads a cause, although the leading warriors tried their best to get these awful trophies of their prowess. Slave-taking was, however, the reason for two attacks by the **yōɫoʔiɫʔatḥ**, or Ucluelet, who wanted them for buying guns (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:373–78, 413–40). A motive for warfare which may appear strange, arose at times from the idea that when a chief or his child died, the bereaved followers should kill someone to accompany their leader as a "death-companion", **ch'ichm'ō**, and to make others mourn as well. They might then kill one or more slaves on the beach or attack another group. Betterment of rank, to become a head chief through killing an incumbent, was sometimes a reason for chiefs of secondary rank to foment war. In summary, though, it might be said that the wars on the West Coast were waged primarily for economic reasons even if revenge seemed the most apparent cause of hostilities.

The weapons used in West Coast warfare were either heavy lances or pikes of yew, seven or eight feet long with fire-hardened points, or light cedar spears about 10 feet long with a bone point, thrown at close range (Koppert 1930a:105), bows and arrows, slings of thong with a woven spruce-root pocket for the stone, and, for chiefs and war-chiefs, a whalebone club, the **ch'it'ōɫ**, shaped like a short sword, and a stone, skull crusher with a conical point. War chiefs wore body armour of two or three layers of thick elk hide wrapped around the torso and laced down the side. They also often wore the skin of the head of a wolf or bear as a fierce-looking headdress. All warriors blackened their faces with charcoal, tied up their hair with a hemlock twig into a topknot, and stuck sharp bone pins in it. After the sea otter traders arrived in 1785, guns became the favourite weapon. Heavy charges of powder and shot made the muzzle-loading flintlocks deadly in the usual close-quarter engagements in houses.

War was decided on formally in a meeting of the men which was often held outdoors, perhaps to keep plans secret from the women who were frequently married in from other groups and might have relatives among the enemy they could warn. Chiefs seeking war, spread inflammatory propaganda beforehand. At the meeting the chiefs or war-chiefs, who were next in rank, speeches were made denouncing the enemy for assorted offenses and calling for revenge. Although the top-ranked chief was supposed to decide whether or not to go to war, chiefs of lesser rank often swayed opinion. A dominant individual with a strong following often was the decisive factor. War chiefs typically were for war.

Men prepared for fighting with ritual bathing as for other undertakings. Practical training, like practice landings on beaches and assault charges, was done sometimes as well. But the attack was usually to be a complete surprise with the warriors stealing into houses at night to seek designated individuals, who were struck down in their sleep at the commander's signal. Detailed intelligence of the enemy's disposition, down to where the leaders and best warriors slept, was gathered through preliminary visits or from neutrals who visited. Tribesmen with relatives might be sent to spy, but this could be dangerous; such "spys" might also *warn* their relatives. War chiefs also scouted an enemy village by going up to it undetected through the woods. When possible, allies were enlisted to muster a force of overpowering superiority.

The favourite attack at night, toward dawn when all slept deeply, usually succeeded as long as surprise was complete. A daylight charge up the beach was often tried but usually faltered under defensive fire. Open assaults may have been more successful before guns, however, because the traditional war canoes with their high, wide prows suggests that they acted as assault shields against arrows and sling stones. Whether by night or day, the attack was often made from more than one direction, but the problem was to co-ordinate the divided forces to strike simultaneously. Wolf howls and bird cries were used as signals but often one element attacked before the others. Diversionary tactics were also used to lure the enemy into ambush or to draw fire to waste enemy ammunition. Complicated plans tended to fail. A very successful method was deception, pretending, for example, to be on a peaceful marriage visit and suddenly striking down the poor hosts with knives and clubs which had been carried hidden under robes. A few engagements occurred on water, usually when a few fishermen in a small canoe were ambushed or overhauled by war canoes.

Alert watchmen were the best defence and were posted when news came of a possible attack, but West Coast sentinels seemed not to remain alert for long and were usually asleep when the attack came, often after a deliberate delay by the clever commander. Other defence measures included the thick plank house walls, proof against arrows and musket shot, inaccesssible refuge sites on steep-sided hills or islands, and defended palisades. Traditions tell of heavy logs set to roll down on attackers when ropes were cut, and of deadfalls across paths the enemy might use, but such measures do not appear common in more recent warfare at least.

In a successful attack the death toll was great for the attacked and light for the attackers. Those who fled out of their houses would meet warriors waiting outside the entrances. Escape occurred through the back into the woods, but sometimes a force was waiting there for the escapees. Attackers of a small group tried to hunt down all members so none survived to go for help. Plunder was loaded onto canoes and what could not be taken was destroyed with houses being burnt and enemy canoes smashed. Usually a war party was accompanied by young men and youths who had no fighting tasks but ran around looting and taking slaves. Women and children were enslaved but usually not men because they were likely to kill their captors when an opportunity presented itself. A few men were taken capitve, however, to be cruelly killed later. It was amusing to make a chief or war chief beg for life and do debasing things on promise of being spared, only to be killed. Brave men disregarded the taunting captors and sang a war or spirit song to the end.

All the slain were beheaded, "by three dexterous movements of the knife, from the back of the neck" (Sproat 1868:187). Returning to their village, the warriors held the heads up in their canoes while, on shore, the people raised a loud welcome, singing and drumming furiously on the house planks. Landing, the war chiefs danced on the beach with the heads, singing victory songs and boasting. Some even licked the blood. The heads were put out on a rock at the end of the village beach for four days, then hidden in the woods. Around Barkley Sound they were set up on poles. Scalps were not taken, nor does there seem to have been cannibalism. A body which remained in enemy hands, usually of an attacker which was not carried away, was often mutilated, put up on a pole on the beach perhaps and insulted. This fierce violence in war contrasted with mild peacefulness in ordinary social life, even for a war chief (Drucker 1951:343-44). War had a unifying aspect in making groups come together in tribes and confederacies for greater mutual strength but it also destroyed people. And those related to both sides in a conflict suffered torn loyalties. War contributed to the plunge in population in the turbulent period after the coming of the White man; however it virtually ended about the middle of the nineteenth century when Vancouver Island became a British colony and Her Majesty's gunboats brought *Pax Britannica* to the West Coast.

An Example of West Coast War

The nature of West Coast warfare, its scale and intensity, is best appreciated from actual instances. Only one example can be given here, and the choice is a major war in which the **ʼāḥōsʔatḥ** of Vargas Island killed off the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** around Flores Island in a series of engagements on both land and sea early in the nineteenth century. It is an exciting account, full of violent action and revealing motivations in warfare, as recorded by Philip Drucker (1951:344–53). To make the many factors and events involved stand out more clearly, additional paragraph breaks and subheadings are included. Also the spelling of native terms is adapted to the present system; some names are not quite right, no doubt, but should be close enough to identify the places and individuals. More significant than spelling is the fact that this war made the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** great, and is an important part of West Coast history.

The **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** *Seek Dog Salmon Through Marriage*

Up to the early decades of the nineteenth century, the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** were a local group who owned only the outside beaches and foreshore of Vargas Island and a small area across Hecate Pass below Catface Mountain. They owned no important dog salmon streams, and, it is said, often suffered privations on this account. They resolved to obtain a wife for the chief second to the head chief in rank from the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ**, whose winter village was **māqtosīs**, the site of modern Ahousat. The **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** were a powerful tribe whose chiefs owned rich fishing grounds not only on Flores Island but also up Herbert, North, and Shelter Arms and Sidney Inlet. It would appear that they were probably a tribe—a confederation of several local groups who assembled at **māqtosīs** in the winter. The Sidney Inlet people are often referred to as a separate group, the **mān'oʔisʔatḥ**.

At length a marriage was arranged for the second chief, **hayōpinōł**, with the daughter of an **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** chief. Despite this formal alliance, the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** did not let the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** fish dog salmon (presumably the bride's father, in giving the dowry, did not include any fishing rights in his dog salmon streams). **hayōpinōł** quarrelled with his wife that fall, and she returned to her home.

The Start of Hostilities

The following spring the chief sent some young men to bring his wife back. Her father refused to let her return. The young men, offended, broke the tips of their paddles on the way home and reported on arrival that the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** had not only refused to send the woman back, but had broken their paddles (i.e., had treated them roughly). **hayōpinōł** was much angered. He chanced to find two **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** men on Twins Islet, and killed them both.

Their kin, when their canoe drifted in, knew at once on whom to lay the blame. The head chief of the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** sent six war chiefs out to seek revenge. They found seven **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** men cutting cedar poles for drying racks for herring eggs, and killed and beheaded them, then displayed the heads from their canoe while paddling back and forth in front of the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** village.

Peace-making

All the **!āḫōsʔatḫ** assembled in their chief's house. Only **hayōpinōɬ**, of all the chiefs, still wanted to wage war. The first chief, **m'okwina** (who was against war at any cost because his mother was **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ**) prevailed, insisting on the tribe's moving to **kwatsōwis** (on Deep Pass), and sending word to the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** that his people wanted peace. To ensure the peace, arrangements were begun to obtain wives for the **!āḫōsʔatḫ** war chiefs from the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ**.

There was one **!āḫōsʔatḫ** war chief who was, or who fancied himself, slighted in these arrangements and, during a visit to the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ**, slipped off into the woods near the village, circled around to the back of the houses and was just lining up his sights on an **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** chief when two **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** warriors who had seen his stealthy departure shot and killed him. They were enraged at his attempt at treachery, and dragged his body down to the beach. There, before the **!āḫōsʔatḫ** visitors, who, knowing nothing of the dead war chief's plans, were quite unprepared. The **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** set the corpse up by driving a yew stake up its anus, slashed the belly open so that the guts fell out onto the sand, and cut off the private parts and tied them to the corpse's nose (through the perforation in the septum). The **!āḫōsʔatḫ** first chief, **m'okwina**, forbade his people to fight (and of course they were for the most part unarmed).

The **!āḫōsʔatḫ** *Declare War; The* **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** *Strike First*

They returned to their village and held another meeting. Some chiefs still spoke against war—it would cause hard times (for fishermen would not dare go out often). **hayōpinōɬ** lay on the floor covering his head with his blanket. When the others had finished speaking, he rose to his feet and addressed **m'okwina**.

"Where is your 'younger brother'? (The **!āḫōsʔatḫ,** being a single local group, were all closely related, and their chiefs addressed each other as siblings). Did he have a decent burial when he died? No, he's still out there on the beach, propped up on a stake, with his guts all over the beach. You can do what you want to; I am going to make war if I have to do it alone, hiding by myself in the bush like a wild dog to kill every **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** I can catch."

Then the war chiefs **tlihaisim** and **qanīma** stood up singing their war songs and calling for others to go with them. All but **m'okwina's** immediate family offered to go. So they sent word to the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** that they were coming to fight.

In reply, the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** sent a war party out in their war canoes, who cut off a party of seven **!āḫōsʔatḫ** fishermen, killed them and displayed their heads to their relatives. (The informant insisted that this was a second party of seven killed by the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ,** making a score of 14 to 2, a rather inauspicious beginning for the **!āḫōsʔatḫ** after their declaration of war.) The **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** considered attacking their enemy by a mass landing on the beach, while displaying the latest collection of heads, but deferred it because the racks for drying herring roe formed an obstacle which would give the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** time to establish a defence. They never got another chance quite as good.

The **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** *Train for War*

hayōpinōɬ selected 40 young men, and began a period of ritual training which was to last 8 months. They remained continent this whole time. During the waxing of the moon, they climbed Catface Mountain, where they sang war songs and prayed for success. **hayōpinōɬ** would stand singing while the young men threw dried leaves and gravel (representing buckshot) at him. They also did more practical sorts of training, practising landings on hostile beaches, and going through manoeuvres in which they shot at each other with blunt, untipped arrows. One version of the war states that during these mock skirmishes one of the young men was unsuccessful in dodging an arrow, which came at him with enough force to go clear through his cheek and into his mouth. His comrades-in-arms laughed hilariously, and **tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ**, who was watching, shook his head and said, dourly, that it was a poor way to prepare for war.

hayōpinōɬ's mother, a **noch'āɬʔatḥ** woman, seems to have been the party's chief adviser in magical protection, for she gave them numerous medicines to make them invulnerable. When they were ready, she had them send a half-**ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** messenger with the false news that the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** were giving up the war, and were moving away from their village at **tsatikwīs**. The tribe moved instead to the site on Deep Pass (**chītāpī**). Some **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** scouted **tsatikwīs**, and found it abandoned.

The entire **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** tribe moved to their sites along the outside of Flores Island, to begin fishing for halibut. An **ʔīḥatisʔatḥ** relative of the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** came by and saw them there, and carried the word to the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ**. **hayōpinōɬ** himself is said to have scouted the foe, and found a large camp of them on Bartlett Island. He assembled his men for a last dry run, and that night they launched their war canoes.

The **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** *Attack on Bartlett Island*

Off the southeast tip of Bartlett Island, the canoes drew up in a line, and **hayōpinōɬ** called on the other chiefs to follow him around to the eastward of the island (the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** camp was on the northwest tip of the islet), and for **qanīma** to proceed up the west side and attack. His plan was to capture many woman and children as slaves. **qanīma** was put out, for he felt that he would have to carry the brunt of the attack, but he went anyhow.

The latter led his party through the channels, and found the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** men sleeping in their canoes (to make an early start for the fishing grounds). [**qanı̓ma** had launched the usual pre-dawn attack in the dark.] The war canoes laid alongside the fishing craft and began killing and beheading the sleepers. One fisherman awoke as his companion was being slain, and seeing no escape possible, said,

"Be careful don't kill me. I'm **tsiɫtsihaok**, of the **tlaʔōkwiʔatḫ**".

The warriors called one of their party who was half-**tlaʔōkwiʔatḫ**". He looked at the man in the canoe and said,

"He is **tsiɫtsihaok**, the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ**."

So they killed him. They caught another young man, who told them,

"Now you don't have to worry, for you have got the principal **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** war chief. I am **qimishtop**."

He was really **qimishtop's** younger brother, who, by stalling for time hoped to enabled the real **qimishtop** to escape. While they killed him, his brother the war-chief dove into the water and began to swim to Flores Island. One of the war party canoes saw or heard him, overtook him, and speared him in the water as though he were a seal.

Only one of the fishermen escaped: he swam to Flores Island (a mile and a half or so at the nearest point), and ran along the beaches warning the rest of the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ,** who all assembled at **ʔots'os**, near Rafael Point.**qanı̓ma's** party seems to have spent some time pursuing **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** who took to the water. Finally they assembled at the camp with 78 heads. The chief's party came down from the woods back of the camp with only two slaves—two women, whom they killed on the beach. Only one of the force was wounded: one of **qanı̓ma's** men who got a spear through the throat. **qanı̓ma** pulled the spear out, and they tried to stop the bleeding with herbs and "medicines". The wounded man's brother fainted, watching him, and **qanı̓ma** stood over him and said,

"Don't faint, sit up like a man. We're fighting the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** now."

At day-break the war party displayed the 80 heads to the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ**. War chiefs of the latter tribe danced on the beach to show they were not afraid. (Both forces were apparently careful to keep out of range.)

On their way home the **ˀ·āḫōsʔatḫ** encountered a **tlaʔōkwiʔatḫ** chief returning from Nootka Sound. He seems to have thought the **ˀ·āḫōsʔatḫ** were on one of their practice runs for he said to them, mockingly,

"Let's see what you caught last night."

qanı̓ma stood up holding a head in either hand, and one in his mouth, and the **ˀ·āḫōsʔatḫ** chiefs held up heads and spat on them. The **tlaʔōkwiʔatḫ** sat down in his canoe and covered his face with his blanket for shame. He was friendly to the **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** and was sure the **!āḥōsˀatḥ** could not win the war. He turned back to the **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** village. There, lying-to off shore, he had his war chief call out,

"**ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ,** show me how many fighting men you have left."

The **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** warriors came down to the beach; there were still many of them—"some people say 400, some say 600, some say there were 800 left," said the informant.

The **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** *Attack Fails at* **!āḥos,** *Vargas Island*

The **tlaˀōkwiˀatḥ** went ashore and assembled the **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** chiefs. He hated the **!āḥōsˀatḥ**. He said to the **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** chiefs.

"I'll give you a place on **ˀaˀaˀitlis (wīkinanish** Island) to hide your war canoes."

He anticipated an **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** move from **ch'itāpi**; he was right, for on the return of the war party, the **!āḥōsˀatḥ** moved to **!āḥos**, outside Vargas Island (expecting a retaliatory attack to be aimed immediately at **chītapi**). The **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** made their plans, and moved a large force stealthily to **wīkinanish** Island, where they hid. They selected four young men, gave them pitch torches, and landed them on the southeast tip of Vargas Island. The four were to cut through the woods, and watch till the **!āḥōsˀatḥ** men set out in their canoes, then rush the village to burn the houses.

The **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** war party after a time left their hiding place. Nearing **!āḥos** in their canoes, they first tried to cut off some **!āḥōsˀatḥ** fishermen who had shoved off just before they came around the point. This seems to have been another good opportunity they slighted, for the **!āḥōsˀatḥ** apparently did not expect an attack so soon at **!āḥos** and were unprepared. According to the principal informant, several of them saw the **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** canoes but thought they were a **tlaˀōkwiˀatḥ** whaling party, and stood idly watching them for some time in the dim early morning light till they realized the canoes were in pursuit of the fishermen who were frantically paddling for their lives.

hayōpinōɬ had eight loaded muskets in his canoe; as he was launching it to go to the rescue, **m'okwina** tipped it over. But **hayōpinōɬ** recovered his muskets and set out, drying them as his crew overhauled the **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ**. Meanwhile the **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** had overtaken one or more canoes, killing several men, and transferring two women to the war chief's craft. The **!āḥōsˀatḥ** pursuit came up. **hayōpinōɬ** opened fire (he had someone to reload for him). He followed the big canoe with the captive women, picking off the occupants one by one. By mischance he killed one of the women. The other was ordered by the **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** to plug the shot holes in the canoe, which she pretended to do, but really let the canoe take water.

Meanwhile, the four young men with the torches, who were supposed to create a diversion and demoralize the counterattack, had got lost in the woods so the **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** force gave up the attack and, scattering, took flight in earnest. (The **ˀōts'ōsˀatḥ** had obviously planned a complex operation, and one that might have worked had the young men not "got lost", or whatever happened to them. The main force was to make a feint to draw a counterattack, incidentally knocking off the fishermen, then when the houses were fired they expected that the counterattack would waver, some canoes would turn back, and in confusion the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** would be able to strike decisively.)

hayōpinōɬ continued pursuit of the crippled canoe; when there were but four men left he shouted to the captive woman to jump into the water. She did so and **hayōpinōɬ** passed her, calling to the canoe following him to pick her up. The **hayōpinōɬ** closed the canoe, finishing off its occupants. All but one were dead as he laid alongside; this man lay feigning death, then leaped up with a spear and hurled it point blank at **hayōpinōɬ**. The latter's uncle interposed an elkhide cuirass shield-fashion, deflecting the spear. Then **hayōpinōɬ** killed the survivor.

The other **!āḫōsʔatḫ** were pursuing the remaining **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** canoes with no success. The latter swung outside the islets, and in trying to cut them off, the **!āḫōsʔatḫ** lost ground among the reefs and islets flanking Flores Island, so their foe escaped, beached their canoes, and ran along the beach to warn their people.

The **!āḫōsʔatḫ** *Attack on Flores Island*

The **!āḫōsʔatḫ** made a fire on the beach to dry their guns, and made plans. They resolved on an all-out frontal attack on the **ʔōts'ōʔatḫ** to press the advantage of their victory. They knew the **ʔōts'ōʔatḫ** would be assembled expecting them. The war chiefs told them not to falter under any circumstances;

"If you see your elder brother die, don't stop or go back; leave him and close the enemy. Don't run straight; run up the beach dodging and zigzagging."

So the force proceeded by canoe to the village where the **ʔōts'ōʔatḫ** were gathered, a place called **woʔaihsī**. They beached. An **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** sharpshooter began to pick them off from a hiding place in a tree, and the rest of the tribe, in the houses, were holding their fire, so the charge bogged down. Someone suggested sending a party around behind the houses, where they fired, shouted, and blew Wolf whistles, but the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** refused to be stampeded.

The **!āḫōsʔatḫ** chiefs devised a new scheme; two volunteers were to run along the beach to draw the enemy fire, and others were to be ready to dash up to each house before the defenders could reload, squat with their backs to the walls and lift, wrenching the boards loose to expose the defenders. A fire party was told off to open fire as soon as the boards come away. The men who ripped the boards loose would be shielded, it was believed, by the boards, which would probably fall on top of them. The plan worked as scheduled, the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḫ** letting themselves be duped into wasting their shots, the boards were ripped off, and the **!āḫōsʔatḫ** shot all the people they could see in the houses.

The **ˀōts’ōsˀatḫ** were not done yet, though, and began to rally. Chief **m’okwina** of the **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ**, broke from cover and ran the length of the beach to a vantage point on the far end, where he threw himself down happy to find himself intact. A young slave he had brought with him flopped down beside him, having followed him under the enemy guns, to the chief's surprise. When he inquired why, the slave replied he took the chance "because if you had been killed, your people would have killed me anyhow." A group of **ˀōts’ōsˀatḫ** now counterattacked, trying to drive the **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ** off the beach. **m’okwina** shot three of them, breaking up the attempt. (The pressure of **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ** public opinion seems to have impelled him to take an active part, finally.) Finally the **ˀōts’ōsˀatḫ** burst out of the backs of the houses and fled into the woods. The **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ** burned and looted the houses. They had lost four men killed, and had a number of wounded. Then they departed.

Raid and Counter-Raid

The **ˀōts’ōsˀatḫ** held a meeting. Some were in favour of abandoning their territory on the outer coast, which they thought would stop the fighting. Those who had lost close relatives, however, insisted on carrying on. They moved to **nahwatksīs**, around on the west shore of Flores Island. From there after a time they sent a war party to **tsatikwīs**, where they found a few **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ**; they killed eight men and one woman.

The **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ** resolved on immediate retaliation. They sent scouts to **nahwaksīs**, who returned reporting the **ˀōts’ōsˀatḫ** were all there, and had set deadfalls along all the trails leading to the site through the bush, so the beach was the only possible approach. A sizeable party landed on the beach one morning at dawn. No mention was made of it, but the **ˀōts’ōsˀatḫ** must have had sentinels out who gave warning, for the attack was met and driven off. The **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ** had no one killed but a considerable number wounded. I was not told what damage they inflicted.

Meanwhile **tlihōmałnī**, the **ˀōts’ōsˀatḫ** war chief who had killed the **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ** whom they had set up on a stake and disfigured, died of a wound received in the fight at **woˀaihsi** (he seems to have been the sniper in the force). The **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ** found the body, being informed of its burial through relatives at Clayoquot. They brought it home, announcing that **tlihōḿałnī** was coming to visit, set it up on the beach on a stake driven up its anus, and disfigured it amid a general feeling of satisfaction.

The **ˀōts’ōsˀatḫ** had retreated to a place called **ōpnit**, whose location I do not know. **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ** scouts reported it was palisaded and surrounded with deadfalls. The **ʼ.āḫōsˀatḫ** did not relish the idea of another frontal attack, so they carried on a war of attrition, watching for and picking off fishermen from time to time. Meanwhile, they laid claim to and began utilizing the various fishing stations of the **ʔōts'ōʔatḥ** It is not clear just how these were parceled out among the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** chiefs; **hayōpinōł** got the places at Herbert Arm because he had personally killed the entire family of chiefs who had owned it, but it also seems that the first chief, **m'okwina**, got a lion's share of the remainder because of his rank (although he had been opposed to the war in the first place, and had taken little part in it, except, apparently, for the affair at **woʔaihsi**). It may have been, too, that he claimed these places by virtue of his kinship to the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** chiefs.

After some time, the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** seem to have become careless. The **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** survivors, who were still numerous, were living up at the head of Shelter Arm and on the Megin River. They fitted out four big canoes. But three or four men paddled in each canoe; the rest hid in case they met any foe. They did meet a **tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ**, and told him they were going outside after clams. That night they attacked an **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** village or camps, killing many, among them the third chief, **kwatyiłmałnī**, and they made the grievous error of hacking this chief's wife, a **tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ** woman, to bits. They did not enter the house of **m'okwina**, however.

The son of **kwatyiłmałnī** fled to **tsatikwis**, where he informed **hayōpinōł** of the raid. **hayōpinōł** was as eager for trouble as ever; he and **qanīma** assembled a force and proceeded directly to the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** village on Megin Lake. In a surprise attack they killed many of the enemy, and took alive a chief of rank equal to that of the slain **kwatyiłmałnī**. They told him they would spare his life if he performed certain degrading actions, which they dictated. He did so, and after ridiculing him, they clubbed him to death.

In the fall both tribes got ready to dry salmon. The **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** began to come out of their refuges, and the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** caught and slew a number of large parties of fishermen.

tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ *Involvement*

And now new troubles were in store for the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ**. The **tlaʔīkwiʔatḥ** relatives of the wife of the chief **kwatyiłmałnī** resolved to avenge her slaying. In the spring a large party of them proceeded, in small canoes, with their womenfolk, to **ōpnit**, where they found a large camp of **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ**. The **tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ** said they were on their way to **ḥishkwī** to purchase dried fish—their stores had run short. They spent the night feasting and visiting with the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ**. Early in the morning, the leader of the **tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ** climbed on the roof of one of the houses and shouted,

"**tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ** women, get up now to cook our breakfast!"

This was the signal that had been arranged, and the warriors fell on their unsuspecting hosts. They butchered the entire camp. On their way home, the avengers passed the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** village, and displaying the heads they had taken, they shouted, "Look, **qanīma**, here are some of the wild ones you couldn't catch!"

qanīma came down to the beach to reply,

"I haven't given up pursuing them; I am resting a bit. I'm going to war again and will kill all the rest of them."

Last Attacks and the Fall of the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** *Fort*

qanīma now seems to have taken the initiative and organized a war party (we may suppose that the vengeful **hayōpinōɬ**, if he did not aid, at least put no obstacle in the war chief's way). They found a group of **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** at a place called **qishnihqōs**, up Sidney Inlet. The war party crept up close to the houses under cover of darkness, and as they lay peering in through the cracks in the walls, scouting the situation, they heard a young **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** say, as he hefted a spear he was making,

"I'd like to see that great **qanīma**—I'd run this into his guts and take his head."

qanīma's people were in position, and this was too good a cue to miss: he bounded in the doorway shouting,

"Here I am! Now go ahead and kill me!"

The young man dropped his spear in fright, and **qanīma** killed him, while his force swarmed into the house and killed all the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** except a few who bolted into the woods. They took some captives, among them a chief who owned the west shore of Flores Island from Rafael Point to **nawaksis**.

Returning to Ahousat, they brought the young chief out on the beach, and called on **m'okwina** to come down and kill him, so that he would be owner of this territory. **m'okwina** refused, for the young chief was a kinsman of his. **qanīma** sang his war song, then brained the young **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ**. Subsequently he claimed the beach line. However, the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** met with the **tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ**, and gave them the salvage and sealing rights to this area (i.e., the rights must have been given to the **tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ** chiefs who instigated the treacherous attack on the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ**).

By now there were but few **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** left. Some of them moved out, going to live with kin, either at **hishkwī**, or down around Barkley Sound (they no longer dared to go to Clayoquot). A few assembled in a fortified site on a knoll, and let it be known they were in an impregnable position, and that they planned to assemble the scattered warriors (those who had moved elsewhere), and then attack the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ**. **hayōpinōɬ** looked the situation over. He seems to have profited by past experience. He mapped an operation with alternative plans of attack. The primary plan, which they tried first, was the obvious one of landing on the beach and rushing the position. This did not come off, for the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** fort commanded the beach too efficiently, and the slope was too steep for an effective charge. The **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** were unable to establish a beachhead.

hayōpinōɬ withdrew his forces, then proceeded with the alternative plan. He sent marksmen to places some distance on either side of the fort on the high hill behind it. Then he detailed a party of axmen to fell the biggest trees on the hill back of the fort. Several trees fell, doing but minor damage to the fort, which the defenders were able to repair, but finally one huge tree came crashing down and stove in the whole rear wall. The tree itself is said to have killed a considerable number of **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ**; others were killed by sharpshooters. **m'okwina**, who once more was taking an active part in the war, most likely to vindicate himself in his people's eyes after his refusal to murder his kinsman, distinguished himself by picking off an **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** chief at 100 yards—remarkably long range for the weapons of the time, cheap trade muskets crammed full of buckshot. Only a few of the **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** managed to escape through the woods.

This was the end of the war. The **ʔōts'ōsʔatḥ** were practically exterminated; the few survivors were scattered among other tribes, and no longer offered a threat to the **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ**, who took the territory, and soon came to be one of the important tribes of the coast. The last incident, some time after, occurred when **qanīma**, while on a visit to Barkley Sound, encountered a man named **anīs**, who had been one of the four who had been sent to burn the village at **ʕāḥōs** (on the occasion on which four men were sent through the woods, and failed to arrive). **qanīma** seized the man and brough him to **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ**. In the morning, he had some men bring the captive to the beach, while he himself stood on a house roof and sang. He called,

"**ʕāḥōsʔatḥ**, come out, I have something to show you."

When the people turned out, **qanīma** told them they had a visitor, **anīs**, who once had planned to burn their houses. They began to mock **anīs**, but he stood silent, refusing to plead or to perform degrading acts for his life. An **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** threw a stone hitting him in the head, and he died. The **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** spread the story that he had died of shame and fright.

The **ʕāḥōsʔatḥ** informants, doing injustice perhaps to the war chief **qanīma's** energy and **hayōpinōɬ's** military genius, attribute their victory to the fact that although they were a much smaller group at the beginning, they had more firearms and ammunition, which they obtained through their relatives the **mowach'atḥ**. They were reinforced on several occasions, too, by **noch'āɬʔatḥ** kinsmen of **hayōpinōɬ**.

THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN

History, in the narrow sense of an account of past happenings based on written records, begins in earnest for the West Coast only in the last quarter of the eighteenth century when the White man came. The records are written from the White man's point of view, of course, and reflect his interests and concerns. There is much reference to the native peoples, their ways and the dealings with them, but at the same time the observations are selective and sometimes reveal a misunderstanding of the West Coasters, as may be expected when peoples with such differing cultural backgrounds meet. The native side of the story of contact is oral, of course, and poorly known. Even if the written records are interpreted in the light of general knowledge of West Coast life, native history still remains only partially known and essentially written from a foreign viewpoint. Keeping in mind this basic slant in the historic record, we may briefly review the earthshaking and dire consequences of the coming of the White man for the West Coast people.

Juan de Fuca or Apostolas Valerianos, a Greek pilot in the service of Spain, is supposedly the first White man to visit the West Coast when he sailed north from Mexico, in 1592, with a small caravela and a pinnace, in search of the mythical Straits of Anian which were thought to cut through North America. According to the uncertain but fascinating record taken from him in Venice by an English mariner (Michael Lok 1906:415–21), Juan de Fuca entered the straits now named after him, noting the rock pinnacle of Fuca's Pillar at the entrance at Cape Flattery. Also named after him is San Juan Harbour on the north side of the entrance to the Strait. He said ". . . that he went on Land in divers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins . . .", making it possible that he met West Coast natives among others. No more detail is given, however, and the first certain instance of White contact comes two centuries later.

In 1774, the first well-documented European-native contact on the West Coast occurred when, in early August, the Spanish explorer Juan José Perez Hernández, in the frigate *Santiago*, dropped anchor at the entrance to the inlet he named Surgidero de San Lorenzo or "Roadstead of St. Lawrence", now known as Nootka Sound (Warren Cook 1973:54–65). Juan Perez was on his way back to Mexico from a voyage north to counter reported Russian expansion and had already contacted the Haida at the north end of their islands. Three canoes of West Coasters approached while the *Santiago* was still several miles offshore but did not enter into relationships. After Perez anchored off Friendly Cove at the entrance of Nootka Sound, three canoes came in the evening but kept their distance. Contact was established at dawn the next day, August 9, 1774, and the momentous event has been recorded by Father Tomas de la Peña (1891:132) on board the *Santiago* as follows in his diary:

> . . . the crew began to get the long boat over the side, in order to go ashore. While this was doing there arrived fifteen canoes with about a hundred men and women. We gave them to understand that they might draw near without fear, and presently they came to us, and began to trade with our people what they had brought in their canoes, which consisted only of the skins of otter, and other animals, hats of rushes, painted and with the crown pointed, and cloths woven of a kind of hemp, having fringes of the same, with which they clothe themselves; most of them wearing a cape of this material. Our people bought

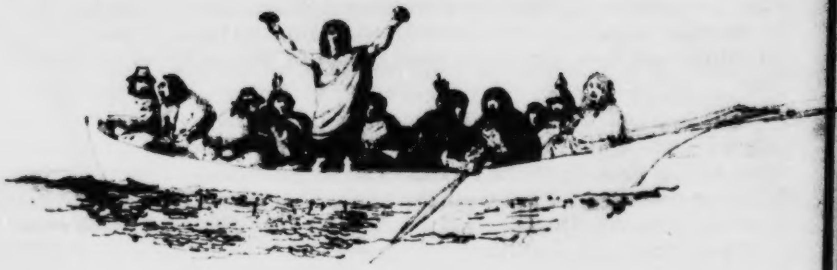
> several of these articles, in exchange for old clothes, shells which they had brought from Monterey, and some knives.
> . . . In the possession of these people were seen some implements of iron and copper.

Then the wind picked up, and the *Santiago* was getting blown ashore because the anchor was not holding. Perez hurriedly cut his anchor chain and sailed away. But the fateful relations with the White man which would, within a century, completely upset traditional West Coast life, had begun. The **mowach'atḥ** thought the *Santiago* was a floating house, **mamałn'i**, and White men have ever since been known by this name on the West Coast.

The iron and implements possessed by the **mowach'atḥ** were likely obtained by trade through intermediate groups. The copper may have been native copper. Iron might have been more recent, coming from Spanish California or from the Russians in the Aleutians, if not English fur traders east of the Rockies. Shipwrecks and driftwood from Asia could have also provided some iron. Whatever the source, iron tools must have aided woodworking from some time before direct White contact. Perez's expedition furnished fresh iron in knives, cloth clothing, and abalone shells, from Monterey, of the prized beautiful blue not found to the north. The native side exchanged cedar bark robes, hats, and furs, including sea otter which was not fully appreciated by the Spaniards. Sea otter became highly valued as a result of the next visit of Europeans four years later when James Cook, following Perez's directions, arrived at the same place.

On May 29, 1778, when Captain Cook appeared in the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, his ships were soon surrounded by over 30 **mowach'atḥ** canoes. He first called the inlet King George's Sound, but soon changed this to "Nootka" thinking it to be the native name because of a misunderstanding explained by Estévan José Martinez, in translation, ". . . Captain Cook's men, asking by signs what the port was called, made for them a sign with their hand, forming a circle and then dissolving it, to which the natives responded Nutka . . ." (I. H. Wilson *in* Mozino 1970:67 n.12). **nōtkak** or **nōtxak** means "circular, spherical" (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:276). Of the historic day when the English first arrived on the West Coast, several eyewitness accounts exist, thanks to the passion for keeping journals in those times. James King, second lieutenant of the *Resolution*, wrote:

> The first men that came would not approach the Ships very near & seemed to eye us with Astonishment, till the second boat come that had two men in it; the figure & actions of one of these were truly frightful; he worked himself into the highest frenzy, uttering something between a howl & a song, holding a rattle in each hand, which at intervals he laid down, taking handfuls of red ocre & birds feathers & strewing them in the Sea; this was follow'd by a Violent way of talking, seemingly with vast difficulty in uttering the Harshest, & rudest words, at the same time pointing to the Shore, yet we did not attribute this incantation to threatening or any ill intentions towards



A photograph of a sketch by John Webber showing Captain Cook's expedition being welcomed at Friendly Cove in 1778.
(Courtesy Marjory Farquhar)

> us; on the contrary they seem'd quite pleas'd with us; in all the other boats, someone or other act'd nearly the same as this first man did. (Beaglehole 1967:1394).

Also described by King is the famous Chief Maquinna, actually **m'okwina** or "Stone":

> One boat larger than the rest had as we suppose'd a Chief in her, or at least a man whose dress & manners were singular; he stood upright in the middle of the boat, & upon a plank laid across to be more conspicuous; the naked parts of his body & Arms were painted with a red, & his face with a whitish Paint, his head was wildly Ornament'd with large feathers . . . (Beaglehole 1967:1394).

This **m'okwina** has become a well-known historical figure since he was a top-ranking chief at Friendly Cove when it was the focal point of the Spanish-English struggle for dominance in the northwest Pacific and since he seized the American trading vessel *Boston* whose armourer or blacksmith, John Rodgers Jewitt, became his slave for three years and left a vivid first-hand picture of the chief (Jewitt 1815).

Unlike Perez, who only stopped overnight and left without landing, Cook stayed a month overhauling his ships and interacting with the people. From the hospitable reception given by the **mowach'atḥ**, Cook named **yokwāt**, the place of their summer village, "Friendly Cove." The journals of the expedition provide the first extensive description of the West Coast people. Much trading went on, of course, and the main native product exchanged was fur, including over 300 sea otter skins. Here is a small part of the fine early description of the West Coasters by Cook himself to indicate the outlook of the White man as contact between the two peoples began.

A SAMPLE OF CAPTAIN COOK'S ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS

"They are a docile courtious good natured people, but very passionate and quick in resenting what they looke upon as an injury, and like most other passionate people as soon forget it. I never found that these fits of passion whent farther than the parties concerned either with us, or among themselves, the others never troubled themselves about it, nay often with so much indifferency as if they did not see it. I have often seen a man rave and scould for more than half an hour without any one taking the least notice of it, nor could any one of us tell who it was he was abusing. In these fits they act as if they wanted words to express their passion. At other times they are commonly grave and silent and are by no means a talkative people. In trafficking with us, some would betray a navish disposition and would make off with our goods without making any return, if there was an oppertunity, but in general the most of them acted with different principles. Their passion for iron and brass and indeed any kind of metal was so strong that few could resist the temptation to steal it whenever an oppertunity offered. They were not, like many of our friends of the S.S. (South Sea) islands who rather than be idle would steal any thing they could lay their hands upon whether it was of use to them or no, these touched nothing but what was valuable in their eyes. Linnen and such like things were perfectly secure and might and did hang out ashore without any one to look after them night and day, so little did they Value either our cloathes or cloth." (Beaglehole 1967:312).

"As to Edge tools I never saw any other than a Chissel and a knife, both of iron; the Chissel is a long flat piece of iron, fited into a handle of wood, a stone serves for a Mallet a piece of fish skin for a polisher. I have seen some of these chissels that was eight or ten inches long and three of four inches broad but in general they were smaller. The blades of the knives were crooked some thing like a pruning knife and what we could call the back was made the edge of the knife. The most of them were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop and were certainly of their own forming and helving. Iron which they call *Sēekemaile*, a name they also give to Tin and all white metal, seemed to be neither scarce nor plenty with them, but we could never learn how or where they came by it. Some account of the Spaniards having visited this Coast was published before I left England, but it could not all come from them; it was too common, in too many hands and too well known for them to have had the first knowlidge of it so late as the year 1774 or 75. Indeed one cannot be surprised at finding iron with all the Nations in America sence they have been so many years in a manner surrounded by Europeans and other Nations who make use of iron, and who knows how far these Indian Nations may extend their traffick one with another . . .

Copper which they call *Γaio'pox* a name they also give to brass, was the only metal except iron we saw among them; this if we did not mistaken them is found in-Country, but it must be very scarce as they had but little of it.

Of the Government and Riligion of these people, it cannot be supposed that we could learn much; there are such men as cheifs who are distinguished by the name or title of *Acweeks* and to whom the others are in some measure subordinate, but I beleive the authority of each extends no farther than over the family to which he belongs. These Acweeks were not always elderly men from which I concluded that this title came to them by inheritance.

I saw nothing that could give us the least insight into their Religion, unless the figures before mentioned called by them *Kulmina* were really idols as some imigined, but as they frequently mentioned the word Acweek when they spoke of them they might probably be Monuments of some of their ancestors, and even in this case they may pay them some kind of adoration. But all this is mere conjecture, as may well be supposed, for we never saw any kind of homage paid them and we could gain nothing from information, as we had learnt little more of their language than to ask the names of things and the two simple words yes and no.

Was I to name them as a Nation I would call them Wak'ashians, from the word Wak'ash which they frequently made use of, but rather more with the Women than the men; it seemed to express applause, approbation and friendship; for when they were satisfied or well pleased with any thing they would with one voice call out 'Wak'ash Wak'ash'. (Beaglehole 1967:321–23).

THE SEA OTTER DECADES

Like other post-contact periods, that of the sea otter trade of 1785 to about 1825 is known in detail from the European side alone. From this complicated record of Spanish, British and American involvements, only a few highlights will be discussed, though even such limited mention tends to make the West Coast history of the period seem mainly a White man's affair.

Sailing on from Friendly Cove, Captain Cook came to his untimely end in Hawaii. His expedition carried on and, in China, discovered that the sea otter pelts from the **mowach'atḥ** fetched high prices. Word leaked out and the Spaniards were the first to follow in the trade but with furs from California. Not until 1785 did the first commercial sea otter trader reach Friendly Cove, from China, in the person of Captain James Hanna with an English merchantman of only 60 tons, the *Harmon*. The different tone of the trader's attitude to the native people was strikingly demonstrated in the special salute accorded on the *Harmon* to **m'okwina** when he visited:

> Gunpowder was set off under his chair. To avenge the insult to their chief, the **mowach'atḥ** later attacked the little ship but the open daylight assault by canoes was repulsed by gunfire. Trade relations

were re-established, however, indicating the **mowach'atḫ's** avid desire for civilized products like iron for tools. Hanna took his haul of sea otter to China where it sold for over twenty thousand Spanish dollars, then a tremendous sum. (Warren Cook 1973:101).

Hanna came again the next year, 1786, along with several other British traders licensed by the monopolistic East India Company, including a James Strange. The latter performed acts of British possession on the coast which would have hardly been welcome to the native inhabitants had their intent been understood. Strange landed sailors that were sick with scurvy at Friendly Cove and had them start a little gardening for the first attempt at agriculture on the West Coast. He also left his surgeon, John Mackay, to winter with Chief **m'okwina**. Leaving Mackay with a musket and a brace of pistols, insisted upon by **m'okwina**, Strange made the people believe that only the White man could use firearms by overloading the musket and having poor **m'okwina** fire it to his painful surprise (1928:33). Mackay had a hard winter, being made to adopt native ways even to a wife and suffering through a food shortage along with the rest. When picked up by Captain Barkley, the first trader in the following year, he was without his European clothing or firearms.

As the sea otter trade suddenly blossomed, contact with the **mamałn'i** and their ways quickly intensified with new developments each year, particularly at Friendly Cove. Chief **m'okwina** profited by his constant association with European civilization and grew in power in relation to other chiefs of the **mowach'atḫ** confederacy like "**tlu-pana-nutl**" while the **mowach'atḫ** as a group became richer and stronger. Also profiting from this contact were the **tlaˀōkwiˀatḫ**, with **wīkinanish** their leading chief, already dominant and supplying the most sea otter. Both groups received the particular attention, for instance, of the enterprising John Meares who, with William Douglas commanding a second ship, arrived in 1788 hoping to establish trading forts. His ships brought along 50 Chinese, mainly craftsmen like smiths and carpenters (Meares 1790:2-3). Also aboard was **m'okwina's** brother "Comekela", returning from China as the first West Coast world traveller. At Friendly Cove, Meares constructed a palisaded two-storey building and a schooner, the *North West America*, with **m'okwina's** permission and under highly interested eyes. He sailed south trading and exploring well past Cape Flattery, visiting **wīkinanish** in particular and also meeting the aggressive Chief "Tatoosh" of the **qw'idishchiˀatx̣** of the cape. Later he sent a longboat to trade into Juan de Fuca Strait but at its entrance, in Port San Juan, the **p'ăchīdātx̣** attacked, wounding three men with arrows (Robert Duffin in Mears 1790: appendix IV). Evidently the **p'ăchīdātx̣** were allied with the Cape Flattery groups who were at war with **wīkinanish's tlaˀōkwiˀatḥ** whose influence extended as far as, but not over the **p'ăchīdātx̣**. Meares lent firearms to **m'okwina** for a successful attack on neighbours to the north, the muskets being returned with ammunition exhausted. He wrote a valuable early description of the West Coast people, including their political groupings, rough population figures, and wrote of cannibalism by some chiefs, the accredited example being **m'okwina** who, with others, ate a slave each month. The practice was abhorred by the white men and likely soon declined. Meares' verbal picture of the grand house of **wīkinanish** is a good example of his writing and will suggest the mightiness of the **tlaˀōkwiˀatḥ** at the time:

> On entering the house, we were absolutely astonished at the vast area it enclosed. It contained a large square, boarded up close on all sides to the height of twenty feet, with planks of an uncommon breadth and length. Three enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were supported at the ends and in the middle by gigantic images, carved out of huge blocks of timber. The same kind of broad planks covered the whole to keep out the rain; but they were so placed as to be removed at pleasure, either to receive the air and light, or let out the smoke. In the middle of this spacious room were several fires, and beside them large wooden vessels filled with fish soup. Large slices of whale's flesh lay in a state of preparation to be put in similar machines filled with water, into which the women, with a kind of tongs, conveyed hot stones from very fierce fires, in order to make it boil:—heaps of fish were strewed about, and in this central part of the place, which might very properly be called the kitchen, stood large seal-skins filled with oil, from whence the guests were served with that delicious beverage.
>
> The trees that supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a first-rate man of war diminutive, on a comparison with them; indeed our curiosity as well as our astonishment was on its utmost stretch, when we considered the strength that must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how much strength could be found by a people wholly unacquainted with mechanic powers. The door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric, was the mouth of one of these huge images, which, large as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features of this monstrous visage. We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this extraordinary kind of portal, descended down the chin into the house, where we found new matter for astonishment in the number of men, women, and children, who composed the family of the chief; which consisted of at least eight hundred persons. These were divided into groups, according to their respective offices, which had their distinct places assigned them. The whole of the building was surrounded by a bench, about two feet from the ground, on which the various inhabitants sat, eat and slept. The chief appeared at the upper end of the room, surrounded by natives of rank, on a small raised platform, round which were placed several large chests, over which hung bladders of oil, large slices of whale's flesh, and proportionable gobbets of blubber. Festoons of human sculls, arranged with some attention to uniformity, were disposed in almost every part where they could be placed, and were considered as a very splendid decoration of the royal apartment (Meares 1790:138-39).

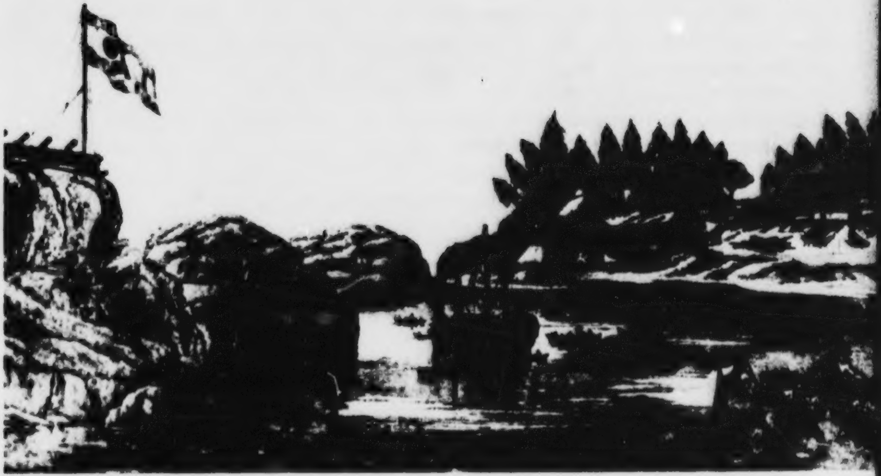
The skulls would come from warfare in which the **tlaˀŏkwiˀatḫ** excelled. Meares found them less influenced by Europeans than the **mowach'atḫ** and more industrious, noting, in mid-June, that "At break of day, without regard to the weather, the village was always empty; the men were employed in killing the whale, hunting the sea otter, or catching fish, and the women were in the woods, gathering berries, or traversing the sands and rocks in search of cray and shellfish" (1790:149). In trading ability they were outstanding as well, with Meares admitting that "In all our commercial transactions with these people, we were, more or less, the dupes of their cunning . . ." (Meares 1790:148). The sea otter trade produced good profits for both sides while it lasted.

Off Cape Flattery, Meares was met by many canoes of **qw'idishchiˀatx̣** who were "of a much more savage appearance" and visited by Chief Tatoosh of whom he noted, "so surly and forbidding a character we had not yet seen" (Meares 1790:153). Yet the fierce warriors, about four hundred, sang a pleasing song in unison for the white men.

In the fall of 1788, as Meares left, the first American traders, John Kendrick and Robert Gray, arrived to winter in Nootka Sound, buying up fur, of course. The **mowach'atḫ** were in their winter village far inside the sound. The Americans, backed by Boston merchants, become known as **pŏstinˀatḫ**. The British were "King George men", **kinchŏchˀatḫ**. Also coming were the Spaniards from Mexico to affirm their claim to the North Pacific and, in May 1789, Estévan José Martínez occupied Friendly Cove which he had visited with Juan Perez in 1774. Then ships, backed by Meares, to establish trading colonies, arrived, and were seized by Martínez. As the Spanish and British clashed, the **mowach'atḫ** moved several miles away. Martínez built a fort ashore and set up two batteries of cannons. His successive seizures of British ships need not be detailed here, but when the main one under James Colnett was taken, Chief "Callicum", **m'okwina's** brother who had been close to Meares, protested, and, from a canoe, called the hot-tempered Martínez on his quarterdeck **p'ishaq**, "bad", and **k'apshitl**, "thief". The latter's reaction is recorded in his diary entry for July 13, 1789, as follows, in translation:

> Irritated by such slanderous (degrading) words, I took a rifle . . . and aiming it, I misfired. One of my sailors who saw this took another and fired it, from which shot Keleken died. (Wilson in Moziño 1970:75 n. 8).

All were shocked. **m'okwina** moved away to stay with **wĭkinanish**. In the fall the Spaniards left, recalled to Mexico, but returned in 1790 under Francisco de Eliza. A garrison of 75 soldiers arrived, under Captain Pedro Alberni, who developed a good farm with assorted crops, livestock and poultry. Alberni also won back the friendship of **m'okwina**, who had returned, by having his troops sing a song flattering the chief (Moziño 1970:78). Relations improved, and when the very hospitable Juan Francisco Bodeya y Quadra came as commander in 1792, **m'okwina** and other



The Spanish frigate *Atrevida* at Friendly Cove in 1791; sketch by Cardero. (Museo Naval, Madrid)

chiefs became regular dinner guests and vied for his esteem. Also in 1792, the Spaniards occupied Núñez Gaona or Neah Bay for four months, erecting a fort, but relations with the Cape Flattery people were not friendly. When an officer alone in the woods was killed, the Spaniards retaliated by destroying an approaching canoe with a cannon shot. Violent incidents between the West Coast people and the White man, whether the Spaniards or the British and American traders, accumulated, straining relations, but the sea otter trade flourished.

Guns were an important new acquisition which changed West Coast life. One notable early supplier of firearms was Captain Kendrick who in 1791 in the *Lady Washington* traded muskets to buy rights to pieces of land for trading purposes because the United States, unlike Spain and England, had no imperial claim in the region. He was said to have furnished over 200 muskets to Chief **wi̓kinanish** of the **tlaˀōkwiˀatḥ** for territorial rights around their main village at Opitsat (Moziño 1970:16,71). He also supplied the **mowach'atḥ** with firearms for rights to several places around Nootka Sound. It is no accident that the **mowach'atḥ** and **tlaˀōkwiˀatḥ** were two of the most successful groups in the warfare of the period. They passed on guns to their allies who in turn succeeded in war. Warfare appears to have been heightened by the acquisition of firearms during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, a glorious period for the well-armed conquering groups but terrible for the vanquished who were often virtually exterminated.

Along with the heightened warfare, many new diseases were introduced by the white visitors to which the natives lacked resistance. There must have been repeated deadly epidemics which have gone unrecorded. Venereal diseases were introduced by around 1790 and even if not fatal could contribute to population decline when they caused sterility (Archer 1973: 27-28). The population crashed precipitously following contact with the White man as among so many other native peoples in the New World. So-called civilization was hardly a blessing.

Several attacks against the sea otter traders are reported. Some failed as did the **tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ** attack of February, 1792, attributed to **wīkinanish,** against Kendrick's associate, Captain Gray, in the fortified building the American traders had erected opposite Opitsat village (Howay 1925:294-5). The summer before, Gray's Hawaiian cabin boy had deserted and the captain had imprisoned a chief, lured aboard his ship *Columbia*, to exchange for his servant. After the attack, or rather threat of attack which did not materialize, Gray reputedly destroyed Opitsat by cannon before leaving. Returning in late May, Gray repulsed an attack on the *Columbia* in Nisparta Inlet, as described by John Boit, the young fifth mate, in the following:

> At 10 in the evening, a number of large canoes full of People, came into the Cove. They halted near some rocks about Pistol shot from the Ship, and there waited about ten minutes, during which time all hands was brought to arms, upon deck in readiness to receive them. Soon after a large War Canoe, with about 25 *Indians*, paddled off for the ship. We hail'd them, but they still persisted, and other canoes was seen following, upon which Capt Gray order'd us to fire, which we did so effectually as to kill or wound every soul in the canoe. She drifted along side, but we push'd her clear, and she drove to the North side of the Cove, under the shade of the trees. 'Twas bright moon light and the woods *echoed* with the dying groans of these unfortunate Savages. (Howay 1925:296).

Cannon was the difference which kept the White man in his ships superior to the West Coasters in their canoes. From the foregoing hostilities between Captain Gray and the **tlaʔōkwiʔatḥ**, it may also be seen how one aggressive act led to another. When a hostile native party masked its intentions and surprised a ship's crew in hand-to-hand combat, it could win. In the sea otter trade period such successful attacks were carried out twice by West Coast groups. Native captures of ships caused much excitment, and both West Coast cases are celebrated enough to be reviewed here, using the vivid accounts of the times.

The *Boston*, an American trading vessel, was captured at **yokwāt** by Chief **m'okwina** on March 22, 1803. The armourer and the sailmaker survived to serve as useful technicians for the **mowach'atḥ**. The unvar-

E. S. Curtis' photograph of Boston Cove, taken about 1914.
(PABC:E-858)

nished account of the capture in the armourer John Jewitt's journal clearly describes what happened, including the immediate precipitating circumstances:

> We arrived at Nootka Sound the 12th of March, 1803, all in good health, and anchored five miles above the village in twenty-five fathoms water, muddy bottom. On the 13th the natives visited us and brought a plenty of fresh salmon, which we purchased for fish hooks, &c.; on the 14th our people were on shore getting wood and water for the ship. The natives visited us with a number of canoes round the ship. On the 15th Maquina, the chief, came on board to dine with the captain. After dinner the captain made him a present of a double barrel musket, with which he was much delighted and went on shore. Our people were employed as usual until the 19th when the chief came on board with nine pair of ducks as a present to the captain, and told him that the double barrel musket was not a good one, and that he had broken the lock; captain Salter was very angry, called him a liar, took the musket and threw it down into the cabin and called for me to know whether I could repair it, I told him it could be done. The chief

> returned to the shore very angry and the captain took no more notice of what had happened. On the 22d the chief came again on board, looked much pleased, had a mask over his face and a whistle in his hand, seemed to be very happy and asked the captain when he should go to sea; "Tomorrow," replied the captain. "Why don't you go to Friendly cove and fish, there is a plenty of salmon there," said the chief. The captain spoke to Mr. Deliewser, and they agreed it would be a very good plan to get a stock of fresh salmon to carry to sea. After dinner the captain dispatched the jolly boat with Mr. Deliewser and nine of the people. The steward was on shore washing the captains's cloaths; the sail maker was in the main hatches at work upon the sails; I was in the steerage cleaning muskets. About one hour after the boat was gone, the captain told Mr. Ingraham to hoist in the long boat, saying there was a sufficient number of the natives on board to help to pull at the tackle falls to hoist her in. When they had got the boat half way up, the natives seized every man at his tackle fall, and likewise the Captain, threw him over the quarter deck, and killed every man with his own knife taken out of his pocket, and cut off their heads and threw their bodies overboard. Hearing a noise on deck, I went and got my musket, and ascending the stairs was caught by the hair of the head, by three of the natives. One of them struck at me with an axe and cut my forehead, but having short hair, their hands slipt and I fell down the steerage. The Chief, observing it was me, told them all not to hurt me, for that I was an armourer and would be of great service to him. He ordered his people to shut over the hatch. I lay in a most deplorable state; being very weak in consequence of the loss of blood from the cut I received. After they had taken the ship they sent canoes off to murder the men that were in the boat, which they soon did and brought their heads, which amounted to twenty-five, on board, and placed them in a right line on the quarterdeck. I remained below four hours, when the Chief called me on deck and told me that I must be his slave and work for him and he would spare my life, to which I of course assented. The Chief led me on the quarter deck and told me to look at all the people's heads that were placed in a line, at which sight the reader can better imagine what were my feelings than I can describe them. (Jewitt 1815:3-4).

Previous offenses against the **mowach'atḫ** by other white visitors to **yokwât** were also part of the background for **m'okwina's** attack. According to Jewitt (1815:111-12), the chief noted a Captain Tawnington's theft of his furs while he was away, Martínez's killing of four chiefs, and Captain Hanna's deadly firing on canoes for the theft of a chisel. The *Boston* carried 3,000 muskets and fowling pieces, according to Jewitt (1815:14). Within a few days of the capture of the *Boston*, canoes came visiting from about 20 other West Coast tribes to share in the spoils. At one feast **m'okwina** gave away over a hundred muskets, enhancing his prestige by his grand potlatching (Jewitt:41,45). No doubt the captured arms and ammunition made the **mowach'atḫ** and their allies invincible in war. At the same time ships came to avoid **yokwăt** as a place no longer friendly. An unexpected side result of the capture of the *Boston* was Jewitt's invaluable historical account.

Eight years later, in 1811, another American trading vessel, the *Tonquin*, from John Jacob Astor's enterprise on the Columbia River, was captured on the West Coast, apparently by the **tlaʔŏkwīʔatḥ**. Except for an interpreter who brought the news to Astoria, there were no survivors. Published accounts vary in detail (e.g. Irving 1836:64–69; Ross 1849:158–65). Washington Irving's is the best, perhaps, but lengthy. It is reprinted here.

> The Tonquin set sail from the mouth of the river on the 5th of June. The whole number of persons on board amounted to twenty-three. In one of the outer bays they picked up, from a fishing canoe, an Indian named Lamazee, who had already made two voyages along the coast, and knew something of the languages of the various tribes. He agreed to accompany them as interpreter.
>
> Steering to the north, Captain Thorn arrived in a few days at Vancouver's island, and anchored in the harbour of Neweetee, very much against the advice of his Indian interpreter, who warned him against the perfidious character of the natives of this part of the coast. Numbers of canoes soon came off, bringing sea-otter skins to sell. It was too late in the day to commence a traffic, but Mr. M'Kay, accompanied by a few of the men, went on shore to a large village to visit Wicananish, the chief of the surrounding territory, six of the natives remaining on board as hostages. He was received with great professions of friendship, entertained hospitably, and a couch of sea-otter skins was prepared for him in the dwelling of the chieftain, where he was prevailed upon to pass the night.
>
> In the morning, before Mr. M'Kay had returned to the ship, great numbers of the natives came off in their canoes to trade, headed by two sons of Wicananish. As they brought abundance of sea-otter skins, and there was every appearance of a brisk trade, Captain Thorn did not wait for the return of Mr. M'Kay, but spread out his wares upon the deck, making a tempting display of blankets, cloths, knives, beads, and fish-hooks, expecting a prompt and profitable sale. The Indians, however, were not so eager and simple as he had supposed, having learned the art of bargaining and the value of merchandise from the casual traders along the coast. They were guided, too, by a shrewd old chief named Nookamis, who had grown gray in traffic with New England skippers, and prided himself upon his acuteness. His opinion seemed to regulate the market. When Captain Thorn made what he considered a liberal offer for an otter skin, the wily old Indian treated it with scorn, and asked more than double. His comrades all took their cue from him, and not an otter skin was to be had at a reasonable rate.
>
> The old fellow, however, overshot his mark, and mistook the character of the man he was treating with. Thorn was a plain, straightforward sailor, who never had two minds nor two prices in his

dealings, was deficient in patience and pliancy, and totally wanting in the chicanery of traffic. He had a vast deal of stern, but honest pride in his nature, and, moreover, held the whole savage race in sovereign contempt. Abandoning all further attempts, therefore, to bargain with his shuffling customers, he thrust his hands into his pockets, and paced up and down the deck in sullen silence. The cunning old Indian followed him to and fro, holding out a sea-otter skin to him at every turn, and pestering him to trade. Finding other means unavailing, he suddenly changed his tone, and began to jeer and banter him upon the mean prices he offered. This was too much for the pateience of the captain, who was never remarkable for relishing a joke, especially when at his own expense. Turning suddenly upon his persecutor, he snatched the proffered otter skin from his hands, rubbed it in his face, and dismised him over the side of the ship with no very complimentary application to accelerate his exit. He then kicked the peltries to the right and left about the deck, and broke up the market in the most ignominious manner. Old Nookamis made for shore in a furious passion, in which he was joined by Shewish, one of the sons of Wicananish, who went off breathing vengeance, and the ship was soon abandoned by the natives.

When Mr. M'Kay returned on board, the interpreter related what had passed, and begged him to prevail upon the captain to make sail, as, from his knowledge of the temper and pride of the people of the place, he was sure they would resent the indignity offered to one of their chiefs. Mr. M'Kay, who himself possessed some experience of Indian character, went to the captain, who was still pacing the deck in moody humour, represented the danger to which his hasty act had exposed the vessel, and urged him to weigh anchor. The captain made light of his councils, and pointed to his cannon and fire-arms as a sufficient safeguard against naked savages. Further remonstrances only provoked taunting replies and sharp altercations. The day passed away without any signs of hostility, and at night the captain retired as usual to his cabin, taking no more than the usual precautions.

On the following morning, at daybreak, while the captain and Mr. M'Kay were yet asleep, a canoe came alongside in which were twenty Indians, commanded by young Shewish. They were unarmed, their aspect and demeanour friendly, and they held up otter skins, and made signs indicative of a wish to trade. The caution enjoyed by Mr. Astor, in respect to the admission of Indians on board of the ship, had been neglected for some time past; and the officer of the watch, perceiving those in the canoe to be without weapons, and having received no orders to the contrary, readily permitted them to mount the deck. Another canoe soon succeeded, the crew of which was likewise admitted. In a little while other canoes came off, and Indians were soon clambering into the vessel on all sides.

The officer of the watch now felt alarmed, and called to Captain Thorn and Mr. M'Kay. By the time they came on deck, it was thronged with Indians. The interpreter noticed to Mr. M'Kay that many of the natives wore short mantles of skins and intimated a suspicion that they were secretly armed. Mr. M'Kay urged the captain to clear the ship and get under way. He again made light of the advice; but the augmented swarm of canoes about the ship, and the numbers still putting off from shore, at length awakened his distrust, and he ordered some of the crew to weigh anchor, while some were sent aloft to make sail.

The Indians now offered to trade with the captain on his own terms, prompted, apparently, by the approaching departure of the ship. Accordingly, a hurried trade was commenced. The main articles sought by the savages in barter, were knives; as fast as some were supplied they moved off, and others succeeded. By degrees they were thus distributed about the deck, and all with weapons.

The anchor was now nearly up, the sails were loose, and the captain, in a loud and peremptory tone, ordered the ship to be cleared. In an instant a signal yell was given: it was echoed on every side, knives and war-clubs were brandished in every direction, and the savages rushed upon their marked victims.

The first that fell was Mr. Lewis, the ship's clerk. He was leaning, with folded arms, over a bale of blankets, engaged in bargaining, when he received a deadly stab in the back, and fell down the companionway.

Mr. M'Kay, who was seated on the taffrail, sprang on his feet, but was instantly knocked down with a war-club and flung backwards into the sea, where he was despatched by the women in the canoes.

In the mean time, Captain Thorn made desperate fight against fearful odds. He was a powerful as well as resolute man, but he had come upon deck without weapons. Shewish, the young chief, singled him out as his peculiar prey, and rushed upon him at the first outbreak. The captain had barely time to draw a clasp-knife, with one blow of which he laid the young savage dead at his feet. Several of the stoutest followers of Shewish now set upon him. He defended himself vigorously, dealing crippling blows to right and left, and strewing the quarterdeck with the slain and wounded. His object was, to fight his way to the cabin, where there were fire-arms; but he was hemmed in with foes, covered with wounds, and faint with loss of blood. For an instant he leaned upon the tiller wheel, when a blow from behind, with a war-club, felled him to the deck, where he was despatched with knives, and thrown overboard.

While this was transacting upon the quarterdeck, a chance medley fight was going on throughout the ship. The crew fought desperately with knives, handspikes, and whatever weapon they could seize upon in the moment of surprise. They were soon, however, overpowered by numbers, and mercilessly butchered.

As to the seven who had been sent aloft to make sail, they comtemplated with horror the carnage that was going on below. Being destitute of weapons, they let themselves down by the running rigging, in hopes of getting between decks. One fell in the attempt, and was instantly despatched; another received a death-blow in the back as he was descending; a third, Stephen Weekes, the armourer, was mortally wounded as he was getting down the hatchway.

The remaining four made good their retreat into the cabin, where they found Mr. Lewis, still alive, though mortally wounded. Barricading the cabin door, they broke holes through the companionway, and, with the muskets and ammunition which were at hand, opened a brisk fire that soon cleared the deck.

Thus far the Indian interpreter, from whom these particulars were derived, had been an eye-witness of the deadly conflict. He had taken no part in it, and had been spared by the natives as being of their race. In the confusion of the moment he took refuge with the rest, in the canoes. The survivors of the crew now sallied forth, and discharged some of the deck guns, which did great execution among the canoes, and drove all the savages to shore.

For the remainder of the day no one ventured to put off to the ship, deterred by the effects of the fire-arms. The night passed away without any further attempt on the part of the natives. When the day dawned, the Tonquin still lay at anchor in the bay, her sails all loose and flapping in the wind, and no one apparently on board of her. After a time, some of the canoes ventured forth to reconnoitre, taking with them the interpreter. They paddled about her, keeping cautiously at a distance, but growing more and more emboldened at seeing her quiet and lifeless. One man at length made his appearance on the deck, and was recognised by the interpreter as Mr. Lewis. He made friendly signs, and invited them on board. It was long before they ventured to comply. Those who mounted the deck met with no opposition; no one was to be seen on board; for Mr. Lewis, after inviting them, had disappeared. Other canoes now pressed forward to board the prize; the decks were soon crowded, and the sides covered with clambering savages, all intent on plunder. In the midst of their eagerness and exultation, the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion. Arms, legs, and mutilated bodies were blown into the air, and dreadful havoc was made in the surrounding canoes. The interpreter was in the main chains at the time of the explosion, and was thrown unhurt into the water, where he succeeded in getting into one of the canoes. According to his statement, the bay presented an awful spectacle after the catastrophe. The ship had disappeared, but the bay was covered with fragments of the wreck, with shattered canoes, and Indians swimming for their lives, or struggling in the agonies of death; while those who had escaped the danger remained aghast and stupified, or made with frantic panic for the shore. Upwards of a hundred savages were destroyed by the explosion, many more were shockingly mutilated, and for days afterwards the limbs and bodies of the slain were thrown upon the beach.

The inhabitants of Neweetee were overwhelmed with consternation at this astounding calamity, which had burst upon them in the very moment of triumph. The warriors sat mute and mournful, while the women filled the air with loud lamentations. Their weeping and wailing, however, was suddenly changed into yells of fury at the sight of four unfortunate white men, brought captive into the village. They had been driven on shore in one of the ship's boats, and taken at some distance along the coast.

The interpreter was permitted to converse with them. They proved to be the four brave fellows who had made such desperate defence from the cabin. The interpreter gathered from them some of the particulars already related. They told him further, that, after they had beaten off the enemy, and cleared the ship, Lewis advised that they should slip the cable and endeavour to get to sea. They declined to take his advice, alleging that the wind set too strongly into the bay, and would drive them on shore. They resolved, as soon as it was dark, to put off quietly in the ship's boat, which they would be able to do unperceived, and to coast along back to Astoria. They put their resolution into effect; but Lewis refused to accompany them, being disabled by his wound, hopeless of escape, and determined on a terrible revenge. On the voyage out, he had repeatedly expressed a presentiment that he should die by his own hands; thinking it highly probable that he should be engaged in some contest with the natives, and being resolved, in case of extremity, to commit suicide, rather than be made a prisoner. He now declared his intention to remain on board of the ship until daylight, to decoy as many of the savages on board as possible, then to set fire to the powder magazine, and terminate his life by a signal act of vengeance. How well he succeeded has been shown. His companions bade him a melancholy adieu, and set off on their precarious expedition. They strove with might and main to get out of the bay, but found it impossible to weather a point of land, and were at length compelled to take shelter in a small cove, here they hoped to remain concealed until the wind should be more favourable. Exhausted by fatigue and watching, they fell into a sound sleep, and in that state were surprised by the savages. Better had it been for those unfortunate men had they remained with Lewis, and shared his heroic death: as it was, they perished in a more painful and protracted manner, being sacrificed by the natives to the names of their friends with all the lingering tortures of savage cruelty. Some time after the death, the interpreter, who had remained a kind of prisoner at large, effected his escape, and brought the tragical tidings to Astoria.

Sea otters became so depleted that the trade practically ended in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Though the odd pelt continued to be taken, ships stopped coming for the sea otter trade. With that interest gone, world commercial attention no longer focussed on the West Coast, and there was a lull in the White man's interest for several decades. The people remained independent and traditional life continued vigorously despite the undoubted onset of the great decline in population due to disease and intensified warfare. Civilized technological introductions, like abundant metal tools and firearms, brought some changes but these were incorporated well enough into West Coast life so that it enjoyed a general continuity. Small schooners continued to trade along the coast. Fort Victoria, founded in 1843 by the Hudson's Bay Company, was outside West Coast territory but was visited, especially by the nearby southern West Coast groups. The first half of the nineteenth century might be regarded as a "contact—traditional" phase when West Coast life continued essentially true to itself with adjustments made to elements introduced from the greater outside world.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

It was the second half of the nineteenth century which saw White colonial development begin to flourish on Vancouver Island and the passing of independence and vigour for native life on the West Coast. Because of the Cariboo gold rush, in 1849, with its sudden influx of outsiders, largely American, the Colony of Vancouver Island was established making the ensuing extension of British governmental influence over the West Coast people inevitable. They were considered troublesome because of their warlike habits; therefore, the externally imposed political order was ultimately backed by naval gunboats. The population was already much reduced by introduced diseases so that the West Coast tribes were undoubtedly much weaker than in the initial stages of White contact. In 1852, the devastating smallpox epidemic hit them as terribly as other native peoples in the west.

White domination of the West Coast developed in stages from the mid-nineteenth century without active opposition generally, although native sentiment opposed it. This development was not, however, entirely without conflict, which indicates that a fundamental clash of White and native interests existed. In 1859, a trader around Barkley Sound, William Bamfield, was made the first Indian agent for the West Coast. Three years later he disappeared, perhaps accidentally, perhaps not. White settlement of the land did not develop extensively on the West Coast because of its general unsuitability for farming, but in the Alberni Valley, inland at the end of an inlet, a White colony did become established in August, 1860, with the arrival of two armed vessels, *Woodpecker* and *Meg Merrilies*, manned by about 50 men under Gilbert Malcolm Sproat (1868:1). His memorable account of how the **ts'ishāˀatḥ** were immediately forced to move and of a following conversational exchange, throws into sharp relief the confrontation between White and native interests:

> Near a pretty point at one side of the bay, where there was a beach shaded by young trees, the summer encampment of a tribe of natives was to be seen. Our arrival caused a stir, and we saw their flambeaux of gunsticks flickering among the trees during the night.

In the morning I sent a boat for the chief, and explained to him that his tribe must move their encampment, as we had bought all the surrounding land from the Queen of England, and wished to occupy the site of the village for a particular purpose. He replied that the land belonged to themselves, but that they were willing to sell it. The price not being excessive, I paid him what was asked—about twenty pounds' worth of goods—for the sake of peace, on condition that the whole people and buildings should be removed next day. But no movement was then made, and as an excuse it was stated that the children were sick. On the day following the encampment was in commotion; speeches were made, faces blackened, guns and pikes got out, and barricades formed. Outnumbered as we were, ten to one, by men armed with muskets, and our communications with the sea cut off by the impossibility of sailing steadily down the Alberni Canal (the prevalent breeze blowing up it), there was some cause for alarm had the natives been resolute. But being provided, fortunately, in both vessels with cannon—of which the natives at that time were much afraid—they, after a little show of force on our side, saw that resistance would be inexpedient, and began to move from the spot. The way in which these people move their encampments will be described further on. Two or three days afterwards, when the village had been moved to another place, not far distant, I visited the principal house at the new encampment, with a native interpreter.

"Chiefs of the Seshahts," said I on entering, "are you well; are your women in health; are your children hearty; do your people get plenty of fish and fruits?"

"Yes," answered an old man, "our families are well, our people have plenty of food; but how long this will last we know not. We see your ships, and hear things that make our hearts grow faint. They say that more King-George-men will soon be here, and will take our land, our firewood, our fishing grounds; that we shall be placed on a little spot, and shall have to do everything according to the fancies of the King-George-men."

"Do you believe all this?" I asked.

"We want your information," said the speaker.

"Then," answered I, "it is true that more King-George-men (as they call the English) are coming: they will soon be here; but your land will be bought at a fair price."

"We do not wish to sell our land nor our water; let your friends stay in their own country."

To which I rejoined: "My great chief, the high chief of the King-George-men, seeing that you do not work your land, orders that you shall sell it. It is of no use to you. The trees you do not need; you will fish and hunt as you do now, and collect firewood, planks for your houses, and cedar for your canoes. The white man will give you work, and buy your fish and oil."

"Ah, but we don't care to do as the white men wish."

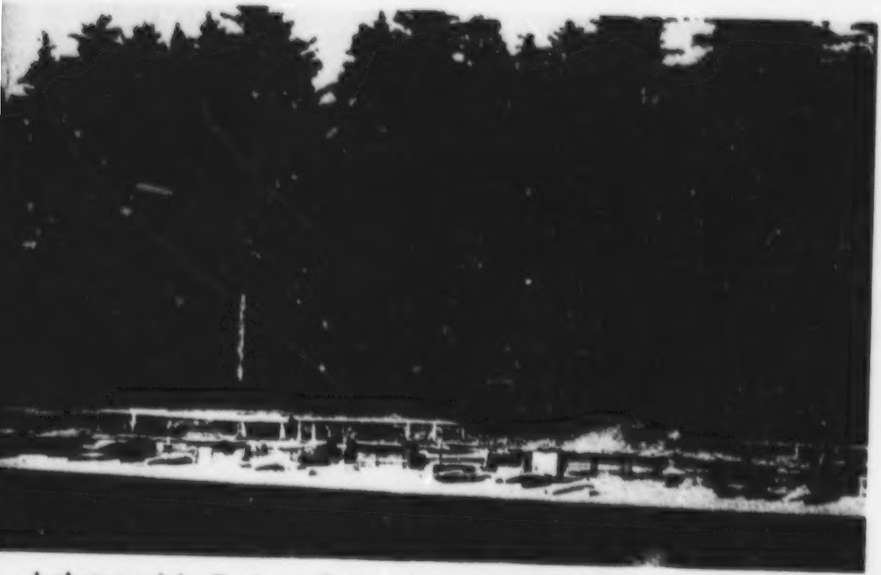
> "Whether or not," said I, "the white men will come. All your people know that they are your superiors; they make the things which you value. You cannot make muskets, blankets, or bread. The white men will teach your children to read printing, and to be like themselves."
>
> "We do not want the white man. He steals what we have. We wish to live as we are."
>
> . . . A civilized settlement was now formed almost immediately in their midst, and the natives stared at the buildings, wharves, steam-engines, ploughs, oxen, horses, sheep, and pigs, which they had never seen before. (Sproat 1868:2–4).

The superior power, when provoked, of the King-George-men was demonstrated not long after in 1864. An **ʔāḥōsʔatḥ** chief, "Cap-chah", captured a small trading schooner called the *Kingfisher*, killing its crew of three then plundering and burning in the old style. In October, Rear-Admiral Denman was despatched with *H.M.S. Sutlej* and *H.M.S. Devastation* to the **ʔāḥōsʔatḥ** territory around Flores Island. Although the capture of the *Kingfisher* was called a crime and the attackers, murderers, by the White side, with two gunboats sent in against a generally resistant population the affair was an active expression of the basic confrontation between the natives and the Whites. Denman first went up North Arm behind Flores Island in the *Sutlej* to "Sik-tok-kis" village to demand the surrender of the 12 principals held responsible for the attack on the *Kingfisher*. The natives in the bush would not answer the landing party, but one man who came down to speak was captured for questionng. The *Devastation*, under Commander Pike, went to Herbert Arm where all communication was again refused, and a large group in war paint fired on the ship and its boat. Having found out from the captured man the whereabouts of those who attacked the *Kingfisher*, Admiral Denman then proceeded with punitive actions, including a land strike, best described by giving part of his despatch to the Governor of Vancouver Island.

> On the 3rd, I proceeded up Herbert Arm to Moo-yah-kah, and sent the *Devastation* to Sik-tok-kis, Obstruction Inlet, and Shelter Arm, with orders to destroy the canoes, hoses, &c., but not to fire on the natives unless resistance were offered. Commander Pike was not able to find the village in Destruction Inlet, but he destroyed Sil-tok-kis and those in Shelter Arm, and found in each of them letters, accounts, and other property belonging to the *Kingfisher*.
>
> I sent Friday [his interpreter] into Moo-yah-kah under the ship's guns. A number of Indians came down and held a palaver with him on the beach; he told them that I promised not to fire on them if they delivered up to me all the men concerned in the affair of the *Kingfisher*, three of whom I knew were there. Friday, on his return, brought a message from the Indians saying, that if I wanted the men I might come and take them, if I destroyed the village they would soon build it

> up again, and that if I attempted to touch the canoes they would shoot every man who came near the shore.
>
> I then ordered a heavy fire to be opened on the village, and on the surrounding bush, to clear it, and sent in the gigs to complete the destruction of the village under cover of the ship's guns, and those of the heavy boats.
>
> Notwithstanding these precautions, several musket shots were fired at the boats, but were instantly silenced by the boats' guns, which replied to them with admirable precision.
>
> Having brought away twelve canoes, I returned to Matilda Creek, where the crime had been perpetrated, and the *Kingfisher* sunk, and next day I ordered the remains of the village, which had been abandoned and dismantled, to be fired.
>
> The *Devastation* had, on the 5th, been ordered to destroy the villages of Cap-chah, in Cypress Bay and Bedwell Arm, and to bring away his canoes; the boats were fired on, and Cap-chah himself was seen at the head of his men in Cypress Bay, dressed in one of the blue jackets which had formed a part of the *Kingfisher's* cargo.
>
> Finding that all these measures had failed to bring the Ahousahts to terms, I was obliged to strike a yet more severe blow, directed against Cap-chah himself in such a manner as to impress the Indians more deeply with the idea of our power, and with the impossibility of escaping punishment due for such atrocities against unoffending White traders.
>
> On the morning of the 7th of October, forty seamen, and thirty marines, with one Ahousaht and six Khal-oh-quaht Indians, to act as guides, were landed at White Pine Cove in Herbert Arm, under the command of Lieutenant Stewart, the senior lieutenant of this ship. Lieutenant Stewart was ordered to march across the trail to Trout River (about three miles), and to endeavour to seize Cap-chah and any of his people.
>
> The Ahousahts were completely taken by surprise, and they must have been all captured in the temporary huts which they had constructed in the bush, had not the alarm been given by the barking of a dog when our party was within a few yards of them. The Indians had barely time to rush into the thick cover, from whence they opened a heavy fire upon our men, which was returned with such effect, that in a few moments they took flight, leaving ten men dead. Cap-chah himself, who did not fight, was wounded in two places as he ran away (In Sproat 1868:198–200).

Denman reported that 69 canoes were destroyed and about 15 men killed, without injury on his side. Having inflicted punishment, he reduced his demand for the surrender of murderers from 12 to six, although items from the *Kingfisher*, found at every place destroyed, implicated the tribe at large. Denman gave the tribe a month to comply with his new demand. However, at the end of that period Denman did not return. Because of this,



A photograph by Frederick Dally, taken in 1886 and believed to be of the Westcoast Village of *Ahousaht*. (BCPM:PN 4649)

the **!āḥōsʔatḥ** believed they had won and Cap-chah added to his reputation as the great chief who had defied the King-George warships (Sproat 1868:201-02). Since the destruction of the canoes kept them from laying-in the winter food supply, the **!āḥōsʔatḥ** dispersed to live with friendly tribes until the spring fishing began. New canoes were built and the loss of "half a war-canoe" of men was considered inconsequential. So ended the outstanding instance of the use of civilized military force against the West Coast people. Indecisive as it may appear, Denman's punitive expedition in effect marked the end of independent native power on the West Coast.

In 1868, British Columbia joined Canada and thought was given to the assignment of native peoples in the province to reserves. The Dominion required that the size of reserves be calculated on the basis of eight acres per family; the province considered that excessive. In 1875-76, a joint federal-provincial commission was set up to allocate reserves on no fixed basis for acreage. The West Coast reserves were mostly defined in the early 1880s by a Commissioner who sought to limit them as much as possible, Peter O'Reilly (*cf.* Fisher 1977:155, 165, 199–206). In 1913 another commission was formed to make further adjustments. It found the West Coast Agency to have 150 reserves totalling 12,385.1 acres for 1,683 persons, giving 7.35 acres per capita. It added 14 reserves but cut off 600 acres from a **hō!īʔatḥ** reserve and 240 acres from a **ts'ishāʔatḥ** one, leaving a total of 12,200.25 acres. The reductions were made because the reserves were regarded as being "in excess of the reasonable requirements of the Indians"

(British Columbia. Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1916: IV, 851). In the second half of the twentieth century, the restoration of such reserve lands had become an issue. More important is the fact that aside from certain limited tracts, such as around Victoria harbour, the land in British Columbia has never actually been surrendered by the native peoples in treaties. A settlement of the "Land Question" will have to be reached eventually but will take time.

The southernmost West Coast people, the **qw'idishchiʔatx̣** or "Cape People", or "Makah" so-called, and the **ʔosiɬʔatx̣** at Ozette came under the political sway of the White man somewhat differently than those in British Columbia. On the American side of Juan de Fuca Strait, a treaty was signed with the U.S. government, represented by Governor Stevens, in 1855, ceding native territory except for reservations. The **qw'idishchiʔatx̣** came to be called "Makah" in this treaty because that was the name that Stevens' Clallam interpreter used for them (Colson 1953:76). The Makah Reservation took in the several main villages of the region and, at 20,539 acres, (Colson 1953:34) was twice as large as all the West Coast reserves in British Columbia put together. The West Coast population on the American side, incidentally, was 654 in 1861, declining to a little over 400 for much of the first half of the twentieth century before rising again.

FALLING UNDER FOREIGN INFLUENCE

From the middle of the nineteenth century on, the history of the West Coast people is one of ever-increasing White influence and corresponding loss of their traditional culture evolved over several thousand years. In the last decades of the twentieth century, they may be seen to be heavily acculturated or changed toward the ways of Western civilization, yet to remain native West Coasters. About the middle of the nineteenth century, the claim of the White man to the West Coast became more than the planting of flags or drawing of map boundaries; they now began to actually take over the country. While most of the West Coast was not occupied by homesteaders because of its general unsuitability for farming, the settlement of other areas in the west and the development of towns and cities affected the West Coast people. Increased demand for native products stimulated trade. Employment in the White economy also developed.

The production of dogfish oil for sale, developed into a major West Coast activity about 1850. The oil was used principally to lubricate saw mill machinery which was then helping to meet the great demand for construction lumber (Swan 1870:32). It could also be burned in lamps. To the natives it was a food, although whale and seal oil were more esteemed. Much of the late spring and summer was spent catching dogfish with the sharp-angled hook and harpooning the big basking shark whose liver held much oil. The oil trade brought the West Coasters a flood of White goods like blankets, metal tools, guns, and certain foodstuffs such as flour, pilot biscuits, beans, rice, molasses, and sugar, not to forget alcohol. Dogfish oil was a leading trade item for the West Coast people over the second half of the nineteenth century.

Sailors of *H.M.S. Boxer* visiting the **mowach'ath** at Friendly Cove in 1874, photograph by Richard Maynard. (BCPM:PN 4803)

Following the decline of the sea otter, the fur trade continued on a smaller scale with deer, elk, and smaller furbearers like mink and marten, being furnished to visiting schooners or at trading posts. Some sea otters were still taken, a **noch'āɬˀatḩ** chief in 1874, for example, displaying 29 skins valued at $2,000, while in 1881 the **ḩishkwīˀatḩ** reportedly got about 17, worth $30–90 each (Brabant *in* Moser 1926:21, 104). For four decades from the 1870s to 1911, another form of maritime fur trade, fur sealing in the Bering Sea, became a principal pursuit. Men shipped out on schooners for months at a time, their sealing canoes, built a few feet shorter for the purpose, stacked in racks on board. On the sealing grounds they hunted through the long summer days, using the traditional two-pronged harpoon, from the canoes which were equipped with oars, sail, and compass. Some groups became involved later than others, the **ḩishkwīˀatḩ**, for example beginning only in 1880 (Moser 1926:104). The intensity of the hunt is indicated by the instance of 17 **ḩishkwīˀatḩ** men, in the summer of 1884, killing 1,400 seals, getting $2 for each but having to pay for board (Moser 1926). Sealing was glamorous but dangerous on the foggy and stormy Bering Sea. In about 1905, several schooners went down in a terrible gale, taking away the men of many West Coast families. Whether on this occasion or another, the small **manōhisʔatḥ** group lost most of its men and became integrated into the neighbouring **ʔāḥōsʔatḥ** (John Dewhirst, pers. comm.). The commercial hunt so depleted the once abundant fur seals that a series of international agreements were necessary to save them from extinction, finally banning fur sealing on the open sea in 1911. One result of this heavy West Coast involvement in sealing was that their world view was expanded, not only by the hunters going to the Bering Sea, where distant northern peoples were met, but also by a considerable number visiting California, notably the flourishing San Francisco, and even a few getting as far as Asia.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century brought intensified White influence upon the West Coasters, including pressures to subordinate and change them. Basic political independence was lost and the foreign ways of European civilization were both imposed from without and, in some cases, willingly adopted, to such a degree that a fundamental break from the ancient whole of traditional life began. The onset of this period when the West Coasters fell under the White man's sway was aptly marked by a visit along the coast in 1874 by the naval gunboat *H.M.S. Boxer* carrying the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Dr. I. W. Powel. The Reserve Commission was being set up at the time, which would reduce the territory of the West Coast people to little tracts where they had their houses, and fishing and hunting stations. Also aboard *Boxer* was a pair of Roman Catholic missionaries, Right Rev. C. J. Seghers, Bishop of Victoria, and Rev. A. J. Brabant, and these would begin the conversion to Christianity (Moser 1926:12–35). Aside from the Alberni colony, well to the interior of the island, only four White men, traders, were living in the Canadian sector of the West Coast people's territory. In the American sector, the Makah Reservation was already long established with an Indian Agent and a boarding school. The West Coast population continued to plunge as the deadly new diseases repeatedly bloomed into new epidemics like the smallpox outbreak noted among the **ḥishkwīʔatḥ** in 1875 by Brabant (Moser 1926:39–42). He also records measles and tuberculosis in 1887-88, killing children in particular, and whooping cough in 1898 (Moser 1926:116, 127). Many more unrecorded epidemics, in places not under White observation, no doubt took their toll. Over this lay the more constant population-destroying effects of venereal diseases and the debilitating curse of post-contact native life, alcohol. The importance of disease and liquor in undermining the West Coast people can hardly be overstated.

Warfare was ended by the establishment of an overruling White order which however distant in the daily West Coast scene, was a presence whose awful power might, when provoked, be quickly exerted by sea. With the danger of attacks gone, the people could travel more freely, and at the same time had novel civilized centres to visit for both work and pleasure. Not only did the fur seal hunters go off to the Bering Sea, others went to work in salmon canneries on the Fraser River or the hop fields of Puget Sound. As horizons widened, people broke with tradition in many ways. Things as fundamental as diet and dress changed, with mixtures of the old and the new resulting. At Hesquiat, Father Brabant noted such changes in 1882 in the following revealing passage:

> Up to a couple of years ago they lived almost exclusively on fish and potatoes. They availed themselves of the presence of large schools of dog-fish to make dog-fish oil, which they sold to coasting schooners, receiving in exchange flour, molasses, tobacco, print-calico, and articles of dress. The old people who did most of the work objected to the buying of clothing, but the young people, especially the women, did not listen to the pleadings of their elders, and invested most of their earnings in the purchase of decent wearing apparel.
>
> I now made it a rule that no men should come to my house unless they wore pants!! (in Moser 1926:103).

When he had first established a mission at Hesquiat in 1875, Brabant had been content to make it a rule that a shirt had to be worn in church (Moser 1926:64).

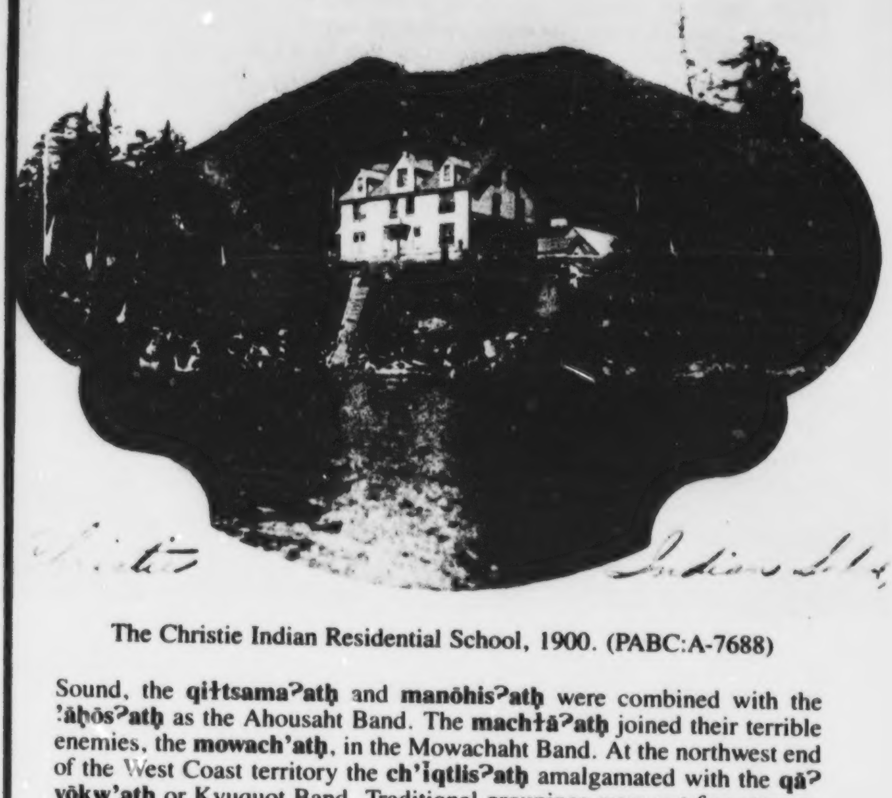
Missionaries zealously sought to change the West Coast people in matters far more crucial than dress. Brabant has left a good record of the ways in which he actively tried to discredit traditional beliefs and observation, being particularly aggressive against the medicine men and chiefs who, as the native spiritual leaders, were prime opponents. He even organized a native police force to quell opposition, played off the younger generation against the conservative elders on issues of conflict, like arranged marriage, and involved Christian equality for all to downgrade the high status of the chiefly (Moser 1926:48, 102, 115). Christianization thus attacked not just the old beliefs and rituals but the general social order as well. By the 1890s conversion was well advanced. Catholic missions had been operating from Hesquiat (1875) on east Barkley Sound, and Kyuquot (1880). There was Protestant activity as well, mission schools being established at Nitinat (1893 Methodist) and Ahousat (1896 Presbyterian).

Traditional native life was suppressed on all fronts. The potlatch, so fundamental in the workings of West Coast society, was attacked by the missionaries, Indian agents, and other Whites, as wasteful, wicked, and an obstacle to the introduction of Christianity and civilization among the natives. In 1884 it was officially outlawed, but the law was not enforceable, and the West Coasters kept on potlatching. More diligently applied were fishing and hunting regulations with patrolling officers. Again such restrictions were widely evaded, but sadly the natives were deemed poachers in using their own ancestral resources. Even the gathering of cedar bark became subject to prosecution as timber companies logged off the land. Particularly devastating was the White prohibition on use of the salmon weirs that had been so important through the ages in keeping the West Coast people free from want. It is said that in the 1890s when the police told the chief of Clo-oose to stop using his hereditary trap in the Cheewat River, he just left it to rot. Even into the second half of the twentieth century, natives have been fined or imprisoned for setting nets in their rivers. They have been forced to give up their rich patrimony of salmon and other resources of the bountiful West Coast.

The twentieth century has seen acculturation advance to the point where West Coast daily life is highly modernized and the native language is becoming completely displaced by English. From about the 1890s, Victorian-style family houses began replacing the big traditional communal houses. Livelihood was becoming family-centred as people began to work more for money in the White economy. Schooling was introduced to impart civilized learning, often with boarding residence away from home to separate the children from their parents and traditional influence. First to be schooled were the Makah, starting with a day school but, in 1874, going on with a boarding school which isolated the pupils even more. In 1895 there was a day school again on the Makah Reservation, but older students continued to be sent off to large residential establishments elsewhere. Boarding schools for West Coast pupils in Canada included Christie, Alberni and Coqualeetza. Using strict methods, such as punishment for speaking "Indian", these schools produced students fluent in English from the turn of the century. There was a well-intentioned strong effort made by schools both in Canada and the United States to "civilize" the West Coasters, suppressing their traditional ways and native language.

As fur sealing ended in the first decade of the twentieth century, many men turned to commercial fishing as their main employment. In the beginning, the native dugout canoes were competitive enough so that outfitting was no problem. West Coasters dominated local salmon fishing in places like Barkley Sound through World War I (Shoop 1972:49). Such economic success ended, however, in the 1920s when the industry grew more competitive over declining fish stocks, with companies consolidating into a few big ones and equipment becoming elaborate and expensive. The 1930s brought the Great Depression with its hard times for almost all. However, this decade brought an important change for the West Coasters on the American side when, after three-quarters of a century of suppression, the Makah regained some freedom to manage themselves as a result of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act of the U.S. Congress, a Tribal Constitution in 1936 and a Tribal Charter in 1937.

The West Coasters in the United States, the Makah, were the first in tending to cluster at those reserve villages having the more developed communication links to urban centres, and to then amalgamate with the government-recognized Bands of the reserve. The government then dropped the incoming tribes from its official list. So the "Makah Tribe" is a consolidation of several formerly independent villages. To their north, on the Canadian side, the **qw'ābădowātx̣** and **tlŏʔōwisʔātx̣** have combined with the **dītīdātx̣** into the Nitinaht Band. Farther north, past Barkley



The Christie Indian Residential School, 1900. (PABC:A-7688)

Sound, the **qiłtsamaˀatḥ** and **manōhisˀatḥ** were combined with the **ˀāḥōsˀatḥ** as the Ahousaht Band. The **machłāˀatḥ** joined their terrible enemies, the **mowach'atḥ**, in the Mowachaht Band. At the northwest end of the West Coast territory the **ch'īqtlisˀatḥ** amalgamated with the **qāˀyōkw'atḥ** or Kyuquot Band. Traditional groupings were not forgotten as their continued operation in ceremonial affairs shows, but the leading political and economic unit has become the official Band or Tribe with its corporate interests and dealings with governmental and other external bodies. The West Coast groups have reformed into "Reserve Tribes" in the twentieth century.

Following World War II, West Coast fortunes fell again as the commercial fishing industry centralized in Vancouver and Victoria where its processing plants were supplied by larger, refrigerated boats. With few modern boats and keen competitors, the participation of the West Coast people in commercial fishing declined (Shoop 1972:53). As in other poor areas, unemployment benefits and even welfare have become regular features of existence for some. Logging fortunately continues actively on the West Coast and provides a good income for many families. On occasion, reserve timber stands are sold, but such transactions furnish only minor revenue since reserves are small in British Columbia. In the United States the comparatively much larger Makah Reservation has a continuing major source of income from its approximately 20,000 acres of timber property ensuring some prosperity. Although talk of land claims continues in British Columbia, there is no indication that West Coast native reserves will be increased on Vancouver Island. On the contrary, the 1970s has seen the creation, in disregard of native claims, of Pacific Rim National Park which aims to take in a great stretch of the all-important coastal strip from San Juan Harbour to Long Beach, almost half the length of the West Coast people's traditional territory. Moreover, there may develop a wish to shift reserves whose locations conflict with the interests of Parks Canada, for the half dozen tribes in the area are more likely regarded as problems than anything else. Park development would likely expand in historic Friendly Cove were it not for the cool reception the idea has received so far (1977) from the **mowach'atḥ**. Other places in the West Coast territory, like the island groups in Barkley Sound, are being eyed as fine recreational areas for the White man.

Despite the far-reaching changes brought about by the **mamałn'i** (White man) in the two centuries since his initial appearance in a "floating house" in 1774, the West Coasters survive on their rugged shores. Their ranked social system continues with hearty feasting, generous potlatching, and grand ceremonial display, albeit less intensely than before. They keep on going as their native selves with a certain toughness, good sense, and humour, adapting to the ways of Western civilization in seemingly total fashion but never really becoming **mamałn'i**. For all the tribulations suffered since the White man came, the West Coast natives have not vanished in body or soul and remain the first people in their ancient homeland. At the same time they have become fully Canadian having, in the middle of the twentieth century, been given the right to vote.

Chapter V. SPIRIT-FILLED REALMS OF MEDICINE, RITUAL SOCIETIES, ART, MUSIC AND MYTH

Again About Spirits

Since it is scarcely striking a positive note to end with the last chapter's chronicle of the decline of West Coast people in modern times, let us now return to the spirit-filled ways so much at the heart of traditional native life. The general conception of the universe as a pantheon of spirits, great and small, and the constant ritual training for success in all undertakings through spirit power have already been described. Let us now look at the medicine men and a pair of ritual societies with their ceremonies, art, music, and myth, in all of which spirits are intimately involved. Such strong supernatural presence is not surprising for, as may be repeated, the West Coast world was very much one running on spirit power.

SICKNESS AND CURING BY MEDICINE MEN

The West Coast specialists in the supernatural and curing, the medicine men, or shamans, acquired their powers through a combination of inherited secret knowledge, encounters with spirits, and training in ritual performance. Supernatural contact was the key element. Becoming a medicine man was one of the few avenues to prestige not restricted to those of high rank, and practitioners were mostly of lower rank or commoner status (Drucker 1951:181; Sproat 1868:169). Chiefs lacked the time to play the role fully; beside they already had high-ranking status. There were two kinds of medicine men: the "soul-workers" who had the power through spirit encounters to restore lost souls, and the "workers" of the secret **tsâʔyik** society of the Central and Southern groups who could handle sickness other than that due to soul loss (Boas 1891:596). Power for the first was almost always acquired through a quiet quest for a supernatural encounter, although a chance meeting with a spirit was also possible. Such power was not inherited but tended to run in families since a soul-worker taught a younger close relative how to prepare through ritual bathing and what to do to overcome the different spirits encountered. He took his pupil along on ritual excursions to the lonely places where spirits were met.

An unusual sound announced the coming of the supernatural being in a vision, at times after months or years of preparatory bathing with fasting and continence. Its power made some individuals faint away for hours, at the same time bleeding from the mouth, nose, and ears. During this trance the spirit told of the power bestowed or sang the songs to be used to cure. If found thus unconscious and bleeding, the person was carried home where a medicine man diagnosed and announced the cause. He then set the acquired power properly in the individual to make him into a practitioner. But the person who was ritually well-prepared would withstand the force of the spirit, keep it in sight, make the ritual cry, **ʔī**, and take steps to overcome the spirit to gain its helping power by uttering a special phrase, striking with a stick, or spitting blood from a cut tongue. Thereupon the spirit turned into a bit of foam or disappeared, leaving a token object. It reappeared shortly after to give instructions.

An exception to the foregoing pattern of a struggle at the outset for dominance was an encounter with a Wolf. This kindly being frequently gave power in gratitude for the removal of fishbones stuck in its throat or gums. Or a Wolf might simply give power when met and reappear later in dreams. A traditional form of encounter happened when ducking under a fallen tree. Man and Wolf would collide head-on and both be knocked unconscious. With other supernatural beings great danger accompanied encounters because if the person was not ritually clean or failed to take the proper steps at the meeting with the being, he or she was vanquished. The bested person either died on the spot or struggled home only to collapse, limbs rigid and face contorted, and die. Sometimes a medicine man could remove the spirit clinging on the back of the person.

After a successful encounter, the foam into which the spirit turned or the small token object it left, such as medicinal leaves, dyed cedar bark, a rattle or painted pebble, was stored in a strip torn from the person's blanket, to be preserved as a fetish containing power. Hiding it in the woods, the man, or woman, returned home, but the power about him was still dangerous to others so for a day or more he stayed away from the houses. Each night the spirit came in dreams to teach diagnosis and treatment procedures, songs, face painting, hair dressing, and the wearing of rings of shredded red cedar bark around the head, arms, and legs. All of these practices were thus stamped with the individuality of the particular spirit. Also the power of the budding medicine man was properly set by an established practitioner who, usually for four nights, sang and sprinkled eagle down over him, and scraped his body to gather the power together in the breast. When fixed in this way, the novice made the barking cry of the medicine man, **hai hai hai hai**, indicating publicly that he was becoming one. Or the spirit encounter might be kept quiet and unnoticed until the time when enough confidence was gained through continued dreaming of the spirit or it ordered self-revelation.

A long training by the spirit was followed with practice performances in public in which the novice was told to sing and dance accompanied, for certain songs, by singing and plank-beating housemates. Rattle and tambourine drum were also used (Sproat 1868:170). As the novice sang and danced, he became transported into the supernatural sphere, and the instructing spirit becoming visible. On its wishes, he danced or stopped, danced through the village houses, or went off singing into the forest to bathe ritually and learn curing procedures including the use of medicinal plants. During this training period he wore the cedar bark ring ornaments of the medicine man which later were worn only when performing. After a few months, or even years, his readiness to open his practice and his medicine man's name were publicly announced on the spirit's instruction at a feast given by the new shaman or his chief. On these occasions medicine men, of the Central groups at least, displayed sleight-of-hand tricks. Well-advertised by his long training performances, and with his songs known thus enabling recruitment of accompanying choruses, when he needed them, the new medicine man waited to be called upon to exercise his particular kind of power. A medicine man also improved his supernatural capabilities by continuing to seek spirit encounters. Meetings after the first one did not require the training performances although the spirits occasionally made the medicine man sing at night.

The medicine man was called in to cure when sickness was beyond treatment by the normal family remedies of herb infusions, massages and songs. Usually a local doctor was called for the poor but for wealthy chiefs, a renowned shaman was often brought in from a distance (Drucker 1951:202). He came with his assistants who carried his gear in a small box and would help in his songs. He first diagnosed, then cured. Usually he performed at night before enthralled spectators with the patient laid out by the central fire of the house. Intimating that the patient might be beyond

A woman shaman of the **tla?ȯkwi?ath**, photographed by E. S. Curtis.
(PABC:E-873)

recovery, he began to shake this rattle and hum a song to call his helping spirit. A close relative of the patient would offer payment, in furs, blankets, canoes, or money, of no fixed amount but with acceptability to the spirit indicated by the strength of the medicine man's singing. Few shamans could live by fees (Drucker 1951:193). As the shaman sang on, spirits filled the space about him, giving instructions. If powerful, he might see inside the patient and discover what was wrong. Sickness was most commonly attributed to little, live, black disease objects found in the body in cysts full of dark blood. If near the surface, these disease-causers were sucked out together with the bad blood. If deeper, they were dug out by hand, commonly from the belly, upper back, back of neck, or temples. Disease-causing objects, sent or thrown in by evil medicine men, sorcerers, were harder to extract. If sickness was due to loss of soul, commonly to sea spirits like the Salmon, the shaman made a spectacular journey to recover it from the spirit's home under the sea or in some other strange far-off place. Spirit possession by entry into the patient was incurable, causing death or madness. But a spirit clinging to the back might be removed. Another sickness which medicine men could not cure was that caused by contagious magic performed on something that was near the victim. The usual treatment given by a medicine man was vigorous, with hard massaging and violent extraction of disease objects. And all the while, there was loud singing, rattle shaking and plank beating (Drucker 1951:207-8; Moser 1926:140; Sproat 1868:255-6).

Sorcery and black magic were done secretly, ot course, so it was hard if not impossible to tell who did it. Such evil action was said to be done for revenge, jealousy, spite, or gain. Medicine men were hired to kill. They might cause sickness, too, expecting to be called in to cure and be paid. Through their contacts with spirits the medicine men could get power to send or throw disease objects which were commonly sharpened bits of bone or claws, often tied together in pairs with hair. When such things were extracted in curing or by autopsy after death, there was great excitement and accusations. Certain identification of the sorcerer was not possible, however, without confession. Medicine men might also steal souls. Contagious magic was done by hereditary secret ritual, such as putting something close to the victim together with a corpse. Such action caused lingering incurable illness, like never-healing ulcerous sores. Also known was the poisoning of food with plant substances which made the victim bloat up, turn purplish black, and die with his or her tongue swollen and sticking out (Drucker 1951:212–15).

THE **ts'ăyiq** DOCTORING RITUAL SOCIETY

As an alternative to the regular curing by a medicine man, the Central and Southern groups had a doctoring ceremonial called **ts'ăyiq**. This ceremonial was apparently named after the Kwakiutl term for medicine man but resembled the Coast Salish guardian spirit dance (Boas 1891:598-9; 1897:642; Drucker 1951:215–18, 243; Sapir and Swadesh 1939:107-8). Mainly ritual, the **ts'ăyiq** involved a minor society composed

Shaman and patient, photographed by E. S. Curtis. (PABC:E-874) of patients and others who had dreamed a **ts'āyiq** song under the leadership of a medicine man. When someone was sick, commonly of a lingering ailment of a minor nature but unresponsive to treatment by medicine men, a relative might invite the **ts'āyiq** society of the village. Undyed, shredded, yellow cedar bark was the mark of the society worn as headbands with long streamers, belts, wristlets and anklets. In the patient's house, starting at the door, each society member in turn sang his or her own **ts'āyiq** songs, accompanied by the rest. Each sang with a sobbing effect which was gradually increased until he or she was crying. At this point, the singer sat down. When everyone around the house had sung, which took some time because some singers had up to five or ten songs, the society members went out and filed round the village to seize initiates, dragging them along by the hair to eliminate headaches. Back inside, each novice was dragged around the house twice. **ts'āyiq** songs were then sung in earnest, but the novices kept quiet until they really wanted to sing, meanwhile breathlessly exclaiming **ay ay ay**, the cry for power not to be sickly. Society members had a certain immunity to disease. Then, with the leader and the patient at the head, the group danced around the village, holding up the index fingers and trembling violently. The ceremonial lasted 10 days among the **hōpach'asʔatḫ** at the head of Alberni Inlet (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:108). As a tribal variant among the **tlaʔōkwiʔatḫ** in the early historic period, the chief did not wait for sickness to occur but convened the society, recruited novices with the parent's consent, and enlisted all the medicine men to create a more orderly, socially-oriented society.

THE **tlōkwāna** OR WOLF RITUAL

The **tlōkwāna**, or **tlōkwāla** in the Southern dialect, meaning medicine man but commonly called the Wolf Ritual or Dance after the featured supernatural beings, was the principal West Coast ceremonial, staged repeatedly through the winter by secret societies (Boas 1891:599–604; Curtis 1916:68–98; Drucker 1951:386–443). Although supposedly secret, virtually everyone of a given place was party to its staging except for small children under seven or eight years old, the age of the youngest initiates, and invited guests from other groups. The **tlōkwāna** was like a tribal initiation passed through by all. The chiefly and wealthy who could afford the associated expenses of feasting and potlatching were repeatedly initiated. The details of the proceedings varied locally, but basically the Wolf Ritual was the dramatic re-enactment with the initiates of a myth in which a young chief was carried off by Wolves to their home in the forest.

The origin of the **tlōkwāna** may be given in a **qāʔyōkw'atḫ** myth recorded by Edward Curtis (1916:94–8), with native names altered to fit the linguistic spelling used in this work. This account also abounds in details of West Coast attitudes, motives and actions. The hero's meeting with the supernatural Wolves is typical, beginning with prolonged ritual bathing and involving a bargaining for power. The place of the secret whistles and bull-roarers in the **tlōkwāna** is well explained near the end.

At **k’atsnimt** lived a young chief, **yan’amx̣om**. There was another man who was constantly washing ceremonially in the woods, and **yan’amx̣om** determined to do likewise. So every morning and every evening for two years he washed himself; and gradually he increased the length of the hemlock sprigs which he used in rubbing his body, until they became branches as long as the stretch of his arms. As he washed, he looked at the rising or the setting sun.

One morning while he was drawing a long branch across his naked back, it was suddenly grasped from behind and held. He looked about and saw a Wolf holding the branch between his teeth, and a little way off sat another Wolf on his haunches, watching with his head on one side. When **yan’amx̣om** turned, the Wolf released the bough and trotted away into the woods with his mate. Then the young man laid on the pile of used branches and went home, very happy because he was about to get that for which he had been striving.

On the next day the same thing occurred, and on the following day at sunrise he did not use the hemlock, but merely rubbed himself with water. Then he lay down in the water, waiting to see what the Wolves wished to do with him. Very soon they came out of the woods, and quickly the man closed his eyes, pretending to be dead. One of the Wolves squatted on his haunches, while the other went about the edge of the water, sniffing at every spot **yan’amx̣om** had touched. Then he began to sniff at the man, and nipped his arm. He seized the arm and began to drag him out to the bank; but suddenly he dropped the body, and both Wolves ran into the woods.

Then **yan’amx̣om** was vexed, and said to himself, “Now I will really wash hard!” He rubbed his body violently with hemlock, and remained all day beside the stream, and at sunset he rubbed again with hemlock. Then he went home. Thus also he did on the three following days, and the next morning he lay down in the water, and again the two Wolves came. This time one of them bit him and then dragged him out of the stream. He seized the man by the back of the neck, swung him up on his back, and ran through the woods, followed by his mate. They came out on the beach and trotted on for some distance to **sachaʔakot**.

As the Wolves trotted along the beach, **yan’amx̣om** became curious to know where he was, and he opened his eyes a very little. The Wolf staggered and almost fell. He turned his head and said hurriedly: “Remain dead! Do not open your eyes yet!” So **yan’amx̣om** quickly closed his eyes and breathed lightly. But again he grew curious, and the same things happened. After a while they came to a small creek, and the Wolf as he crossed threw the man off into the water, where he lay facing the bank they had just left. He opened his eyes and saw that he was a long distance from the place where he had been washing. On the other bank sat the Wolves, wet with sweat and with red tongues hanging out. When they had rested, one of them dragged the man out, swung him up on his back, and trotted away.

Now the Wolves turned into a trail through the woods, and after a time entered the mouth of a great cave. For a long time they passed under the ground, and then at the back of the cave they came to a small hole lined with sharp points of rock. The man was thrown to the ground, and the Wolves crept through. Then one of them took him by the neck to drag him through; but at the hips he stuck fast. Still they tugged and pulled, and with a great effort they drew him through; but his hips and legs were terribly torn by the sharp rocks. They were now in the open.

After a time **yan'amxom** heard the sound of many voices, and he thought they were at the end of their journey. The voices became more distinct, and he heard the people saying to one another, "Here is the person we have been hunting." This was the Wolf village, where the Wolves, removing their fur coats, lived in the form of human beings. The man was thrown down roughly outside the door of a house, and the two Wolves went in. Some young men came out, dragged the man inside, and laid him on some new mats. Still he kept his eyes shut.

"Do not let him lie too long," said a voice. A plank was laid on the floor with one end raised, and under the lower end was placed a wooden dish to catch the blood. For they were going to cut him up and eat him. One of the Wolves with a knife kneeled beside **yan'amxom**. "Why," he said, "this animal has fine fur!" For the animal people regarded humans as animals with fur. He placed the point of the knife on the body. Then suddenly **yan'amxom** grasped the knife, tore it away from the Wolf, and leaped up. Instantly all the Wolf people dashed for their skins and tried to scramble into them. For the animal people were ashamed to be seen without their skins, and had no power without them. There they stood in the sight of **yan'amxom**, some with only one arm covered, others with the skin coats hanging down their backs.

For an instant there was silence. Then the chief spoke to his people quietly: "We had better give these coats to him and get back our knife." So all the Wolves' coats were piled in the middle of the room, and the chief begged, "Will you give us our knife?" But the man refused to give it up, and the chief said: "All these things you see in this house shall be yours. If you wish to get sea-otters, you can do so easily. If you wish to hunt seals, you can get many of them. If you wish to hunt whales, you can kill them." But even for these **yan'amxom** was unwilling to give up the knife. He kept his eyes fixed on an object hanging on the wall, wrapped in balsam boughs.

Then the Wolf chief said: "Give us our knife and you shall have our comb. Then if you have any friend or sister or daughter who wishes long hair, you have only to draw this comb out to whatever length you choose, and the hair will be of that length." Still **yan'amxom** kept the knife tightly clasped under his folded arms. "Well then," said the chief at last, "give us our knife and take this **kist'a**." He showed a handful of water. "If you have any friend who is dead, you have only to sprinkle this water on his eyes and face and he will be alive again." But **yan'amx̧om** was not satisfied, and kept looking at the object wrapped in balsam branches.

Then the Wolf chief pondered. At length he turned to his people. "We had better give him what he is looking at, and get our knife." So one of the Wolves took the bundle down from the wall and revealed a stone club as long as a man's forearm. "For our knife," said the chief, "you shall have **mokw'ant**. If you are hunting sea-otters or seals, or anything else, show this, and when the animal sees **mokw'ant** it will die. If you have enemies, show this **mokw'ant** and when they look upon it they will fall dead." Gladly **yan'amx̧om** gave up the knife and took the stone club.

Now the family of **yan'amx̧om** became anxious about him and when he was not found by those sent to look for him at the place where he had been washing, the people began to mourn him as dead. Then his parents, because this was their only child, moved away from the other people to be alone at **ch'ǐktlis**, while they mourned.

After a year they set out to return to the village. The woman sat in the bow crying, while the man paddled in the stern. As they went, they became aware of the howling of a great number of Wolves on a high mountain, and mingled with the howling was a faint sound like a human voice singing. But so far away was it that they could not be sure it was not a crow, and the man stopped paddling to listen. A lull in the howling made the singing voice plainer, and he urged the woman: "Stop crying and listen! It is not a crow; it is singing!"

The woman ceased her crying, and the singing was plainly heard. Said the man: "You see it is a man's voice! I think it is perhaps our son! Quick, take your paddle; we must get home quickly!" So the woman took up her paddle and they hastened homeward.

On a point of land ahead of them they saw a Wolf, and when they came closer they beheld a great many, hundreds of them. In the midst of them stood a man, their son! He was naked, but around his wrists, ankles, waist, and head were circlets of balsam sprigs. Then they paddled harder than ever, in order to apprise the people of what was coming to them.

When they reached the village the man hurriedly told the people what he had seen, and advised them to prepare their spears for a fight with the Wolves and ropes with which to capture his son. It was not long before Wolves of all colors and sizes appeared on the beach, which was some distance from the hill on which stood the village. A scout was sent to see if this really was **yan'amx̧om**, and when he was near the Wolves the man called out to him: "Do not catch me too quickly. You must come down to the beach four times, and then you can catch me. Let some one who knows how to use the harpoon spear me in the arm. Then there will be no trouble."

When this was reported to the people, they embarked in canoes tied side by side, because they were afraid of the Wolves. But some of the old people remained in the village. When for the fourth time the Wolves appeared on the beach, the people in the canoes approached them and a man with a harpoon got out while those in the canoes held the end of the harpoon rope. He threw the weapon and struck **yan'amx̧om** in the arm, and the men in the canoes dragged him out to them.

As soon as **yan'amx̧om** was struck, the Wolves dashed away to the village and began to tear down the houses and the hill itself. The falling timbers crushed some of the old people, but others quickly made fires of their old clothing, and the human odor drove off the Wolves before they had quite demolished the hill.

Now when other tribes heard about these things, many of them doubted, and from every direction they came to see for themselves. When **yan'amx̧om** knew that they were coming, he made a wooden club in the likeness of **mokw'ant**, which he kept in its wrapping. Then one day the beach was black with large canoes, and **yan'amx̧om** let it be known that he would dance twice on the housetop with the wooden club, but the third time he would dance with **mokw'ant** itself, and those who continued to doubt would pay for their unbelief. So while the visitors sat in their canoes, he danced on the roof, holding the wooden club above his head. Then dropping the wooden club he raised the stone one and tore off the wrappings. Immediately the people fell dead, and the canoes were overturned.

Now **yan'amx̧om** covered his weapon and went to the beach. He dragged out of the water the bodies of those who had not scoffed at him and brought out his **kist'a** (the pot of life-giving water). Those on whose faces he sprinkled it sat up as if awaking from a long sleep; but all unbelievers he left dead in the water.

Then **yan'amx̧om** announced that he would give away presents, and all the people came to his house. The Wolves had told him how to make pipe whistles and tongue whistles and bullroarers, and he made a number of these and showed the members of his family how to use them. At the potlatch, while the people were in the house, his relatives stood outside blowing the whistles and whirling the bullroarers, and the people were amazed and frightened. This was the beginning of the first **tlôkwâna**.

Now the chiefs of the other five villages of the Kyuquot became very jealous of **yan'amx̧om** and, determined to find out his secrets, they sent men who crept into the house one night, killed him, opened his box, and took out the whistles and bullroarers one by one. But they could not understand these things, and thinking them worthless threw them away. But **mokw'ant** they could not find, because it was kept secreted in the woods in the crotch of a great cedar. (Curtis 1916:94–8).

To emphasize the prevalence of the supernatural order during the Wolf Ritual period a number of ordinary life habits were replaced by ceremonial alternatives. For instance ordinary songs, normal personal names, usual words about wolves, gum chewing, hat wearing, basketry, and mat weaving were prohibited. Violations of these prohibitions were punished, for example, by mauling and stripping those who said **qwayats'īk** "wolf", instead of the ceremonial word **saʔak**, "crawler". The regular privileges of rank such as graded public seating and chiefly rights to special food items were disregarded. All meals were taken as communal feasts. Rank relationships were displaced, outwardly at least, by association in age-grade clubs loosely organized on a friendship basis and often named, among the Northern groups, after the imitative dances they performed (Drucker 1951:400–4) or among the Central ones after the various tribes (Boas 1891:600; Sapir and Swadesh 1955:112). Usually there were seven age-grade groups: the young, middle-aged and old, for men and women, and the war chiefs. In addition there were more transitory boys' and girls' club groups to perform certain dances.

Behind this appearance of a different ceremonial order, however, the regular social order continued to operate with the Wolf Ritual being basically organized by the rank system. A **tlōkwāna** was planned ahead of time, months before or more immediately, by a sponsor of rank or wealth in secret consultation with the chiefs. These leading people decided on the proceedings to be staged and chose the main novices whose fathers, on notification, contributed according to their means to the wealth needed for the ceremony. Wolves were played by commoners as inherited privileges of their lineages. Chiefs had rights to have special kinds or numbers of Wolves to appear with their children. They also supplied the whistles and bullroarers for the vital supernatural sound effects. A novice was supposedly taken to the ancestral home of his or her lineage where ceremonial privileges were learned so that they could be claimed and displayed upon return with attendant potlatch distribution of gifts to witnessing guests. In this way the **tlōkwāna** was a major means for transmitting hereditary rights and maintaining the ranked social system (Drucker 1951:387-8).

A **tlōkwāna** performance, which required a week or more to complete, provided a much-enjoyed spectacle, participant theatre, singing, drumming, dancing, feasting, potlatching, and general fun. The initial capture of the novices was variously staged. The principal initiate, commonly the child of the sponsor of the performance, might disappear under contrived circumstances to draw attention to him, then reappear on the beach perhaps to be suddenly seized by the Wolves (e.g., Curtis 1916:70). Often the village was assembled at a feast held for the purpose or as part of other celebrations, notably puberty rites (e.g., Sapir and Swadesh 1955:248). Then the Wolves burst in, perhaps through the rear wall, creating feigned pandemonium, and carried off the initiates. The Wolves, or "Crawlers" as they had to be called, were acted vigorously on all fours with a grey or black blanket covering. This cover was traditionally a wolf skin. A carved mask was worn on the brow or a blanket corner projected overhead for the snout. Face, arms, and legs were blackened. A few chiefs also used masked kidnappers representing the Grizzly Bear or Wild Man of the Woods, privileges obtained in marriage from the Kwakiutl. Repeated attacks were made by the Wolves and other fierce creatures to capture the initiates a few at a time. Men pursued them in vain, firing blanks from their weapons in recent times. Some novices were captured unnoticed, leaving torn garments of identification. Parents of the captured were scolded for their carelessness, roughed about, and thrown in the sea. Armed parties searched houses at odd hours, creating a disturbance.

The captives, supposedly deep in the forest, were actually in the curtained-off back part of the sponsor's house. Parents and grandparents visited them secretly to teach spirit songs. Age-grade groups staged dances imitating assorted animals, birds, fish, people—real and mythical, even plants and winds. They also put on ludicrous and ribald skits. The capture phase lasted four days and closed with a thunderous mass drumming on planks at night, "calling" the wolves (Drucker 1951:399–408).

Rescue of the initiates was preferably staged with canoes, both rafted in pairs and singly (Drucker 1951:408–10; Sapir and Swadesh 1955:92-3). The Wolves appeared on a point near the village, four or eight times, usually with varying numbers of novices on each appearance, from none at first to all at the end. The initiates had bloody faces and wore balsam fir branches about their heads, waists, arms and legs. Girls wore balsam capes as well. They signalled what privileges they had obtained. After repeated, excited skirmishes, pretending to be struck dead by Wolves' power, upsetting of canoes, and so forth, the novices were seized and taken back to the village. There they went in procession, attended by their rescuers and led by a chief. They entered each house, circling inside, singing their spirit songs, showing dance steps and tokens of other privileges like supernatural quartz crystals with which other groups were invited to potlatches. Among the **ts'ishāʔatḥ**, those novices with quartz crystals made them whistle continually and "threw" them at other children who then became initiates (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:94). The procession ended in the Wolf Ritual house where, after a feast, each novice was publicly presented, sang his or her spirit song, and had a father, grandfather, or the sponsoring chief, if poor, announce the supernatural ancestral home visited, the song learned, his or her new name, and any particular ceremonial instructions to be carried out, like the giving feasts and potlatches displaying special privileges.

Since the supernatural power of the Wolves was in the novices, they were kept in the Wolf Ritual house of the sponsor for purification by procedures which varied from place to place. Generally there were more village processions, singing of spirit songs, and imitative dances for four days. The balsam-branch costumes of the captivity were removed to be burned, ideally at the new moon. The fire, being poked with big wooden tongs, had among the **mowach'atḥ** and **!āḥōsʔatḥ** been made earlier in a humorous ceremony before the drumming to call the Wolves. When the balsam costumes were destroyed, the **mowach'atḥ** drummed vigorously on planks and shouted four times to drive off the Wolf Ritual Spirit (Drucker 1951:414). The **ʔīḥatisʔatḥ** shouted similarly. The

qāˀyōkw'atḫ blew whistles over the heads of the novices. With the Spirit of the **tlōkwāna** driven off, the ritual proper was over, and the sponsoring chief gave his potlatch, distributing goods and, from the late nineteenth century, money to witnessing guests and performers. Then followed other potlatches, like those promised by novices at their public presentation, and feasts such as the ones of the age-grade clubs of imitative dancers. Also another **tlōkwāna** performance might be given by someone else. Formerly the post-rescue processing of the novices may have been more prolonged, like among the **ḫishkwīˀatḫ** who took them through three stages of four days each, with singing, processions, bathing, hair washing and combing, and special dress. On their last night a Wolf danced while white eagle down was scattered, and the Wolf then symbolically disappeared (Drucker 1951:415-16). The **ts'ishāˀatḫ** treatment of novices also lasted about 12 days, with much imitative dancing by them after the first four (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:94–114). Their society members, faces blackened with charcoal, drove out the Wolf Ritual Spirit by using special exorcising dancers and songs, together with periodic mass drumming. The excitement culminated in the whistling supernatural quartz crystals being taken from the novices by the dancers, thrust in the water outside, and released to fly back to the Wolves, or to circle over the house of the chief giving a succeeding **tlōkwāna** ceremony. In a performance recorded for the **ts'ishāˀatḫ**, four fearsome dances followed including a young men's suck dance, with sucking sounds, which contained the mystery of cutting the tongue to make blood flow from the mouth as the Wolves did secretly among themselves, and the crawl dance which featured the evisceration and pretended eating of a dog. Also bloody, was the cannibal dance with its biting of selected spectators who were paid for playing their role. Such deliberately awful performances helped turn unappreciative Whites against the **tlōkwāna** as something wicked. To be mentioned as well is the superficial "spearing" of arms, thighs, or ribs with skewers or the blades of sealing harpoons. These torturous acts were privileges of the war chiefs who purposely broke ceremonial prohibitions to be skewered and then were led about by harpoon lanyards while singing spirit songs (Drucker 1951:389-90; Jewitt 1867:99). They thus showed off their bravery and disregard of pain. For new initiates, the Wolf Ritual state continued for a year, among the **ts'ishāˀatḫ** at least, with face blackening and prohibitions of certain foods (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:115). In summary it might be said that the **tlōkwāna** was the spiritual initiation into West Coast life, a major means of transmitting ceremonial rights, and the greatest public entertainment.

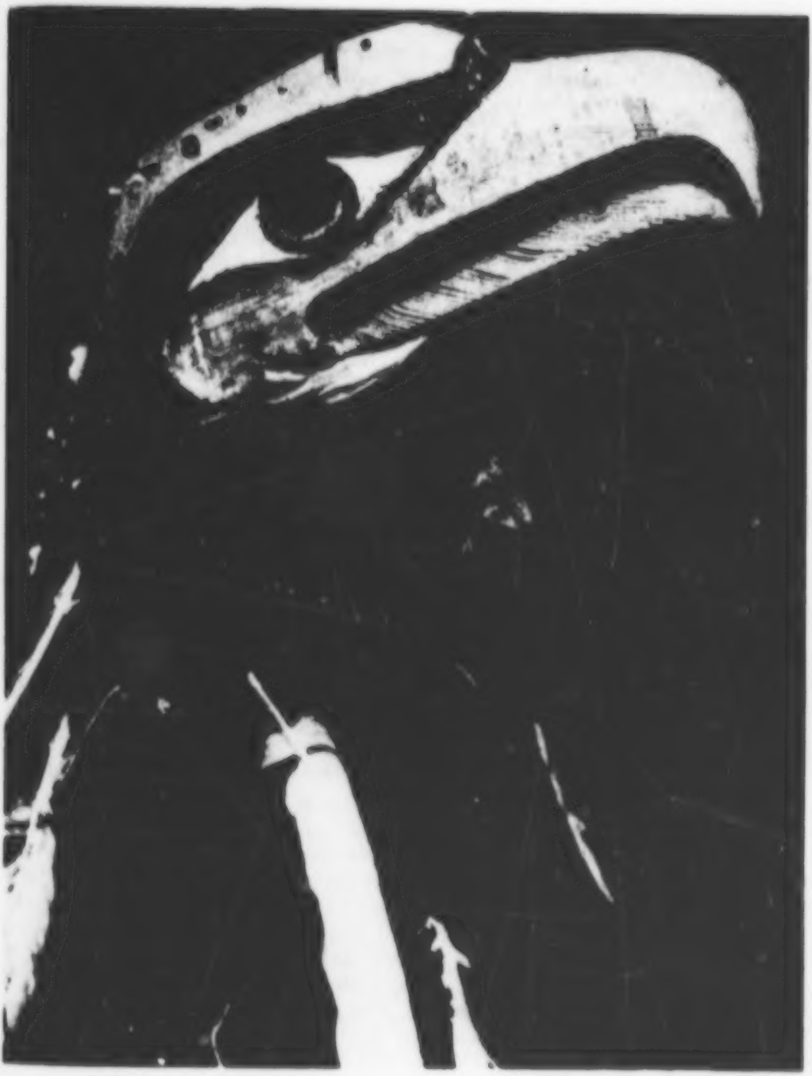
ART

West Coast art is rather little known to the world at large, for studies are few, and native artistic views can hardly be properly reviewed here. What is taken by the White man to be art appears to be well imbedded in other things such as ranked rights, or privileges, and supernatural beliefs. Masks, for instance, are generally parts of more complex wholes when ceremonially displayed along with music, dance, drama and speeches covering myth associations and social meanings. The latter are art too, but this section will focus only on the material representations and decorations usually taken to be native art, trying at the same time to keep in sight their total reality in real-life contexts. Whether carvings, paintings, basketry, or other things, art objects were largely owned hereditary rights, **topâti**, depicting supernatural beings who were encountered and who gave power. In a way, West Coast art was an illustration of their spirit world.

The carving style was simple compared to some other styles on the Northwest Coast. Faces tended to have a flat eye area smoothly blended together with the cheeks below. Surface painted designs tended to neglect the "form-line", the wide black outline of a creature's form, instead emphasizing filler elements like the "feather design" or the star-like interstices where curving form-lines meet. The shapes of the filler elements in West Coast designs were weaker as well, with loss of the more northern coast style's characteristic combination of straight and curved line for strong smooth forms. The feather design, for example, or "split-U" as it is also known, in West Coast surface designing tends to have the tip end well-rounded without the strength-giving squared-off outline of, say, Haida designs, while the split at the other end is wide open and curving and, again, lacks the stiffening squaring character seen to the north. Then the feather design, as it may be aptly called in West Coast work because of the resemblance to real feathers in the rounded rendition, is often exaggerated in size since the surrounding structure-giving form-line is diminished or even left out, and may also be repeated without separation by form-line structure at which point the design is not a filler but the primary element. The frequent lack of the strong forms combining straight and curved line may also be remarked in some eye orbit areas which are football-shaped rather than egg-like ovoids of more northern design. There are also quite rectangular elements in West Coast painted design as part of a tendency to regular geometrical shapes, but they are more like actual rectangles or other straight-sided shapes with angular corners rather than the straight-curve combination mentioned. West Coast art generally lacks the tight integration of forms as a whole seen more to the north. Colours, too, are often used with less systematic restraint, some pieces being exuberantly bright or multi-coloured.

Houseposts of the West Coast people were noted by the earliest White visitors as being carved into figures, in the leading chiefs' houses at least, but the tall, free-standing multi-figured "totem pole" was evidently not a traditional feature. Grave posts were known but, if carved, were of simple design. In this century, however, small, many-figured "totem poles" have been produced for sale, and a few larger ones have been erected, notably at Friendly Cove or **yokwât**, where Kwakiutl influence is strong with marriage alliances. The grandest is the so-called Lord Willingdon pole carved in 1913 and presented in 1929 to the visiting Governor-general.

Among the subjects of West Coast art, the Whale, **ʔîḥtôp**, and Thunderbird, **tʔîtsk'in**, together with the associated Lightning Snake,



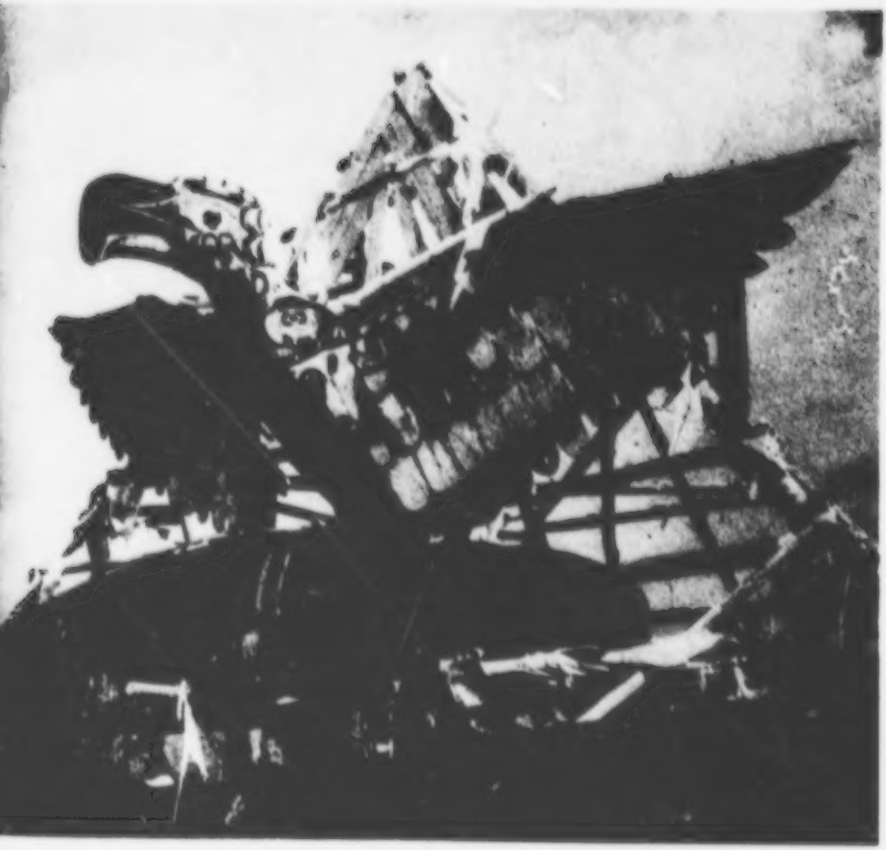
Thunderbird mask, worn by Chief Joseph of the tlaʔōkwiʔath in 1929, photographed by E. S. Curtis. (PAA)

hiʔitl'ik, were prominent as mighty creatures who were the prized inherited rights of the leading chiefs used for ceremonial display. Again and again they are proudly shown in painted screens, inside house figures, and as masks. A fine sculptural example of the Thunderbird with the Whale his prey is the pair of screens in the house of **m'okwina** made in the second half of the nineteenth century for a successor to the title and set up at his grave when he died in 1902 (Moser 1926:159). Succeeding figures carved for the house, show how the West Coast art style changed in this century. Whale and Thunderbird often appear as masked dancers. In a recent study it is suggested that in the puberty ceremony an allegory is set up whereby the girl who is becoming a woman is like the Whale, full and rich (Susam Moogle 1977, pers. comm.). By contrast, the Thunderbird is by this study taken to be an allegory of maleness. The large torches of the puberty ceremony are taken to be the Lightning Snake who is worn as a belt by the Thunderbird and at times sent flashing down to earth as his messenger. These favourite spirts were depicted in various ways. The Lightning Snake could be shown as a crosspiece over a pair of house posts. Tools like an adze might have the handle carved into a Thunderbird. The traditional whalebone war clubs sometimes have the handle carved into what looks like the stylized head of a bird, perhaps of the Thunderbird again. One old club has its hilt carved into a man's head with a serpent-like creature on top. As a part of war costume, a mask-like headdress used to be worn by chiefs and war chiefs. An early observer, describing the painted war cloak of elk hide which stopped arrows, says: "This dress is accompanied with a mask representing the head of some animal; it is made of wood, with the eyes, teeth, &c., and is a work of considerable ingenuity." (Meares 1790:254). He also notes that in hunting men wore masks representing sea mammals, for instance the sea otter. Such masks, while worn on top of the head, still changed the appearance of the hunter.

Dramatic staging was important in ceremonial representations of mythical creatures as in the following example of a Whale and Thunderbird display made for his daughter's puberty by **sayach'apis** of the **ts'ishåʔatḥ**, and described by him:

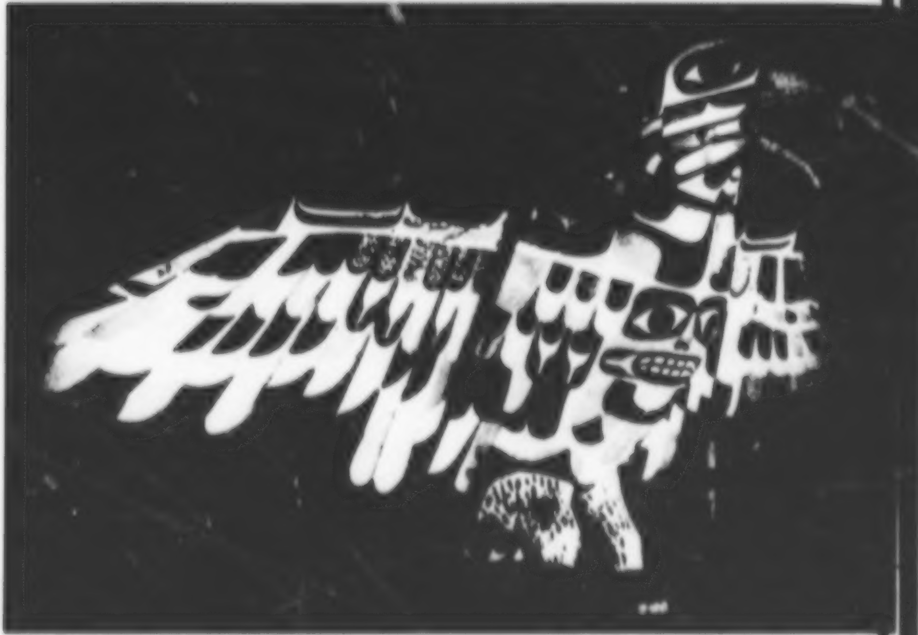
> We came around the point at Homowa going along whale fashion in the small canoe and, in the two war canoes, holding spears poised at the one going along in whale fashion. Their whaling spears were poised in the bow. It represented the reputed constant hunter and whaler. There on the bank, perched on a tree, was Thunder. Thunder was there, ready to pounce on the whale representation with his claws. Thus many were my **topåtis**. The whale stopped in the canoe; Thunder stopped and entered the house. (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:143).

A unique and beautifully crafted artistic depiction of the Whale occurred in the finely woven silhouettes of Whales and pursuing whaling canoes on the chiefly whaler's hat with the knob on top. Other chiefly rain



Whale and thunderbird, with symbolic Mount Canuma behind, at the grave of a recent Chief **m'okwina** who died in 1902. (BCPM:PN 11478-A)

hats had painted designs. As the handicraft market developed late in the nineteenth century, basketry designs of whales, canoes, thunderbirds, lightning snakes, birds, and geometric ornamentation were produced, often in a very fine weave over rectangular wooden forms or round bottles. The designs were set against a light natural background of dried grass by wrapping dyed strands over the regular elements of the woof at the right spots. At first the colors were obtained from natural substances like black from mud, red from alder bark, and yellow from the root of Oregon grape. Later commercial dyes were used. These trade baskets were generally small though some "shopping" baskets were of large handbag size. The wooden bowls and dishes of old could have flat designs cut into the sides and candles carved in the round into heads or figures of humans or animals.



A more recent representation of Thunderbird in Captain Jack's house at Friendly Cove. (Alberni Valley Museum)

Painted screens, to seclude a girl at puberty or conceal dancers before they emerged in ceremonial display, were another good field for depicting the Whale, Thunderbird and Lightning Snake. Perhaps because the surface was rectangular, the compositions often contained many rectangular elements. In such flat painting the West Coast tendency to emphasize geometrical shapes like rectangles and circles was well developed. It was not common, but a few chiefs had a crest design painted on the front of the house, probably a recent practice derived from the Kwakiutl and more northerly nations. The big canoes for war and ceremonial visits were sometimes painted outside with Whale, Thunderbird, human heads or other figures (Jewitt 1815:86). War tunics of elk skin had similar representations painted on them (Jewitt 1815:57).

On masks, the painting was a supporting, surface ornamentation, the wooden structure itself depicting the usually supernatural bird, animal, human or other form, being represented. Many of the masks were worn on top of the head like a headdress. These, in recent times at least, were frequently made of light cedar board bent back from a narrow flat front, if not constructed of separate side pieces making a boxy mask with a cut out silhouette shape as seen from the side. Some were quite large. Then there were smaller maskettes worn on the brow, perhaps derived again from

A Westcoast war club of whalebone. (BCPM:CPN 268)

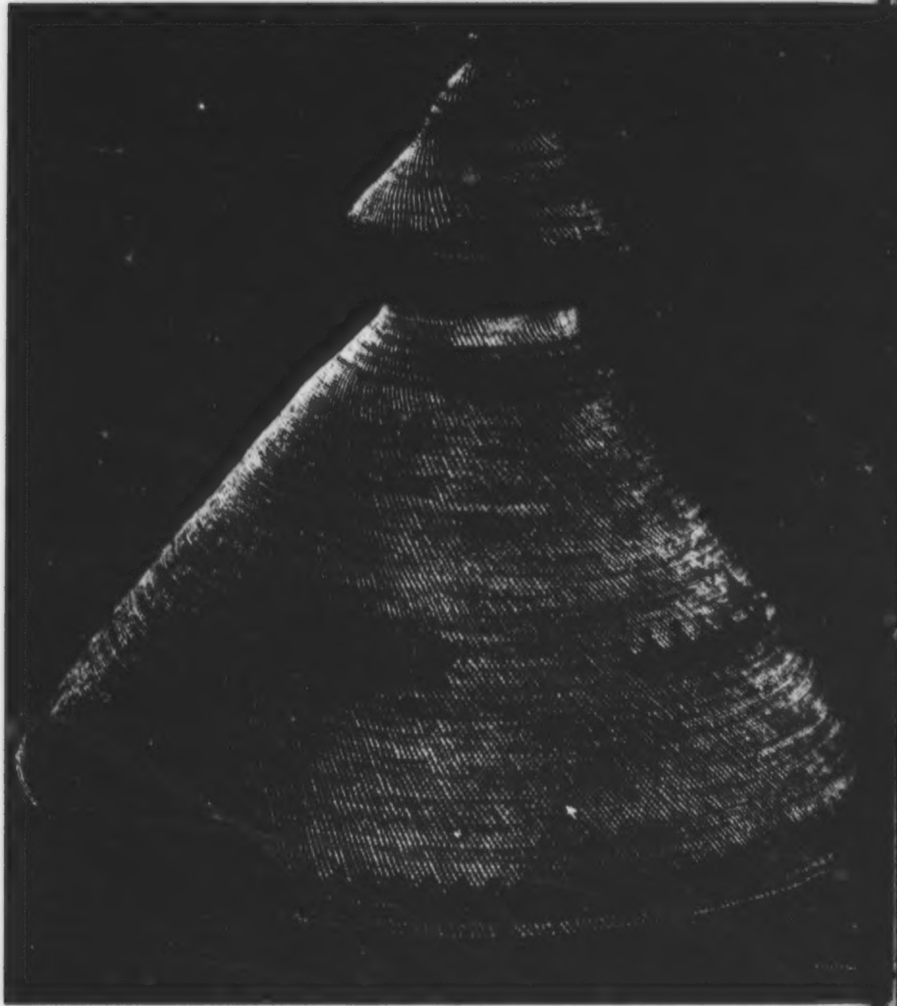
A ceremonial axe, collected by Captain Cook in 1778. (Historial Museum, Berne. Photo. S. Rebsamen)

Small, hand-crafted baskets from Neah Bay, photographed by E. S. Curtis. (PABC:E-861)

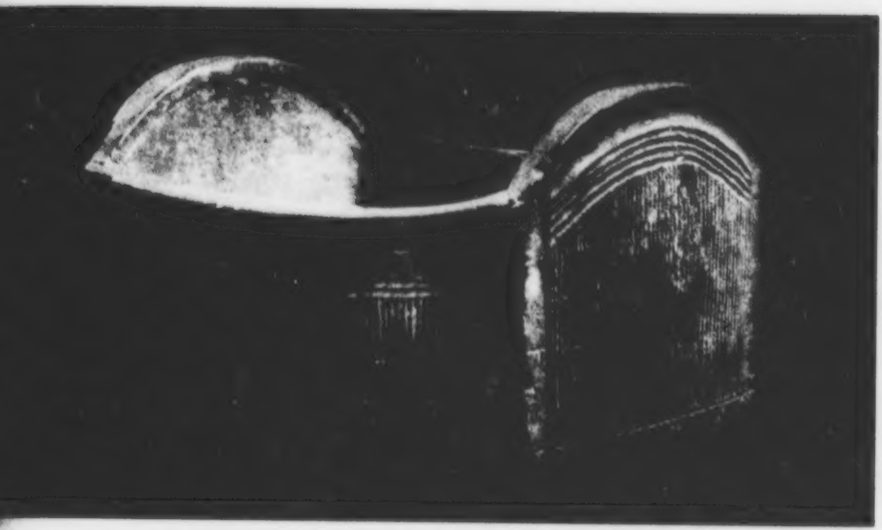
Emma David of Port Alberni weaving a shopping basket of grass and cedar bark. (BCPM:PN 4681) those of the Kwakiutl or more northern peoples like the Haida and Tsimshian. They would be chiefly display rights and might depict crests like the Thunderbird. Face masks were often just held up before the upper part of the face, a cloak or blanket hiding everything below. Some had moving parts like eyes that could blink. When face masks were human in form, as they commonly were, they might represent ancestors or spirits like men of different sorts dwelling in the woods such as the Yellow Cedar spirit (**ʔaɬmaqôþ**), a ghost of a drowned man (**pokmis**), or a wealth-giving dwarf, or the wild men of the forest the **chîniʔatþ**. Many mask characters had the same counterparts among the related Kwakiutl people. From the Coast Salish, the **x̣wîx̣wa** masked dance, was known to the Central West Coast tribes around Alberni at least. Animals, like the cougar or deer, and birds such as ducks, might be depicted in masks. Such representations were shown in the age-grade society dances which were a part of ceremonial performances, the principal occasion being the Wolf Ritual.

This greatest West Coast ceremony featured numbers of Wolves of several kinds, such as Crawling, Whirling, Standing and even Swimming Wolf. Each of these Wolf types behaved differently as their names indicate and the masks also differed (Susam Moogle 1977: pers. comm.). Crawling Wolf could have a plain black mask, before coming to be represented just by a blanket with a corner extending overhead for the snout. Whirling Wolf usually had slanting baleen hair and curling lines painted on the sides of the snout. The Standing Wolf mask had generally upright shapes. Such West Coast masks have not yet been thoroughly studied. Also, masks used in ceremonial performances with supernatural significance, and items of jealously guarded hereditary rights, are not things to be shown too freely. A list given by **sayach'apis**, of the **ts'ishâʔatþ**, of imitative dance rights he held, will help indicate their ownership and the great numbers a chief might own. Speaking of a particular Wolf Ritual performance in which his father was "bitten away" or carried off in the mouths of the Wolves, he recounted:

> My father, then a little child, was bitten away. In this way the right, exclusively mine, of having wolves rush into my house was obtained. No Tsishaath other than my father was bitten away. They then presented Tsika songs and all sorts of Wolf Ritual practices, including different things to imitate in imitative dances during the Wolf Ritual and a ritual for tracing the novices who have been bitten away. In that way were my Hisawistath privileges obtained. I have from this source the swimming of a big wolf. I have a crawling imitative dance. I have a bee imitative dance. I have a sawbill dance. I have a dance-spirit dance. I have a Wolf Ritual crazy dance, a Nohlim dance, a lover-signalling dance. I have a raccoon dance. I have a Tsatsiskomts bird dance. I have a devil-fish dance. I have a wolf chief's gray blanket. I have all sorts of imitative dances. I have a horse-clam dance. I have an eagle dance. I have a raven dance. I have a red-woodpecker dance. I have a Yellow Cedar Bark Ogre. I believe that is all I have from the Hitatsoath.

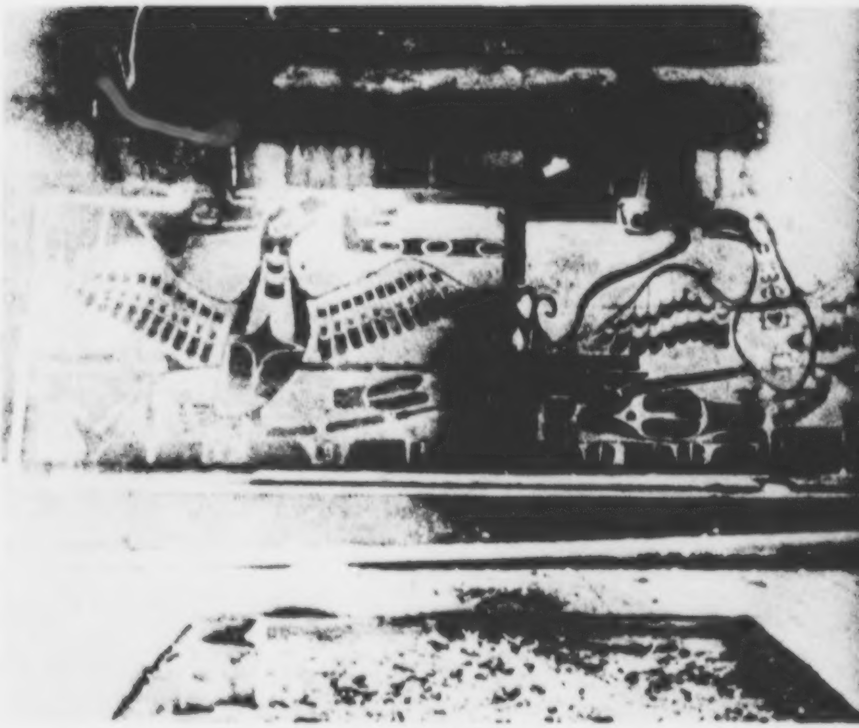


A Westcoast whaler's hat showing a whale and whaling canoe woven into the design. (BCPM:CPN 9736)



A Westcoast cedar dish(?). (BCPM:CPN 10916 V.I.)

A Westcoast ceremonial cup carved from antler; the two handles represent the heads of birds. (BCPM:CPN 2288 V.I.)



Painted house-screens showing Thunderbird, Whale, Lightning Snake and Wolf. (Alberni Valley Museum)

> From the Hisawistath I have these: a Tsatsawihl dance, a quivering-in-the-air dance, a river dance—this one, the river dance, has a song, a breakers dance, a day dance, a spring-salmon dance, a killer-whale dance, a wren dance in which the wrens always dig about in the house. All these dances have songs. There is also the spring-salmon dance, a rat dance, a mink dance, a black oyster-catcher dance. I have the topati of representing the sea high up on the beach flooding into the house. There is also a thunder dance with the lightning serpent crawling in through the roof. That is as many as I can remember. (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:129, 131).

In these many dances, the main thing was motion imitating the animal or other subject represented, together with appropriate song, but masks and other costume items could also be worn to add to the illusion. The use of masks for war and hunting has been described.

Houseposts and beams were sometimes carved and painted. Beams might represent an animal but carved ones were rare, apparently. Abstract

Westcoast Wolf mask. (BCPM:CPN 10707)

Westcoast forehead mask representing a wolf. (BCPM:CPN 16371)

Westcoast brow mask. (PAA)

painted patterns symbolizing particular privileges appear to have been the more common way to ornament beams. Houseposts, when carved, seem to have been mainly human figures but again representing special rights or supernatural beings. So, the big house built by **sayach'apis** had its main beam supported in the middle by a monumental figure of the creator of the **ts'ishāˀatḥ** tribe (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:141). Free-standing figures of the "potlatch welcome" type existed as well, an excellent example being the **hō:Īˀatḥ** pair originally at Bamfield and now at the British Columbia Provincial Museum. Another carved figure from Bamfield, mainly a large head on a post by the beach, was said to be for dancing upon as it represented a vanquished foe. Carved figures, which were mostly heads with simplified features on posts, were also used in shrines for secret whaling rights. Others might have been planted at graves. Animal carvings were set at graves, too. Such sculpture may be regarded as art, but their symbolic significance was far more important than any physical aspects we now admire.

Music

West Coast music was mainly vocal, regularly accompanied by drumming and rattles. In Wolf Ritual performances, whistles and bull-roarers were used more for special sound production than as musical instruments. Dance aprons with their rattling beaks of birds and hooves of deer or elk, added rhythmic background sound in ceremonial dances. Although voice was the primary music maker, these others were important (Drucker 1951:106). The traditional drum was a long plank raised off the ground on short sticks and beaten with hardwood billets. On occasion the house planks themselves served as drums. More specially designed was a long narrow open box, raised at one end in a sling for resonance and beaten with the fists padded with cedar bark. The big round "tambourine drum" with one skin head which is now common was acquired only in the nineteenth century, probably in the second half (together with the lahal gambling game), from the northern interior, with songs accompanying it (Drucker 1951:445). Rattles were made of three kinds of material. Those of wood were usually carved into a bird, perhaps a duck. Others were of whale baleen or mountain sheep horn, steamed and folded double around a wooden handle. The pecten rattle had large shells strung on wooden hoops. Rattles often had supernatural associations particularly when used by shamans.

Whistles were of various kinds. A very small type was concealed in the mouths of novices in the Wolf Ritual. Larger whistles sometimes had reeds. There were also multiple whistles producing different tones. The bull-roarers, a small board whirled on a string, sounded like an earthquake. For a thunderous noise, rocks were rolled inside a long box. Such sound effects were not music, however; rather they were supernatural sounds.

West Coast people were very much music-lovers. Their finer singing was appreciated by Whites as early as Captain Cook's visit in 1778. In the following passage by James King, 2nd Lieutenant of the *Resolution*, they

A carving, in wood set with horsehair, representing a human head; carved by Tim Paul. (BCPM:CPN 15189)

A Westcoast human-face mask. (BCPM:16496 V.2.)

A carved, central post for supporting beams in a house. (BCPM:PN 4972)

also were observed to be exceptional among the peoples met by the expedition in their attentiveness to European music.

> The greatest number of the Canoes remained in a cluster around us till ten OClock, & as they had no Arms, & appeared very friendly, we did not care how long they staid to entertain themselves, & perhaps us: a man repeatd a few words in tune, & regulated the meaning by beating against the Canoe sides, after which they all join'd in a song, that was by no means unpleasant to the Ear. A young man with a remarkable soft effeminate voice afterward sung by himself, but he ended so suddenly & unexpectedly, which being accomponied by a peculiar gesture made us all laugh, & he finding that we were not ill pleasd repeatd his song several times. As they were now very attentive & quiet in list'ning to their diversions, we judg'd they might like our musick, & we ordered the Fife & drum to play a tune; these were the

A rattle, carved from alder, in the shape of a bird. (BCPM:CPN 2132)

> only people we had seen that ever paid the smallest attention to those or any of our musical instruments, if we except the drum, & that only I suppose from its Noise & resemblance to their own drums; they Observd the Profoundest silence, & we were sorry that the Dark hind'red our seeing the effect of this musick on their countenances. Not to be outdone in Politeness they gave us another song, & we then entertain'd them with French horns, to which they were equally attentive, . . .(Beaglehole 1967:1394-95).

In 1786 a trader found that the cymbals, and a song he made up, were extremely popular at Friendly Cove (Strange 1928:26-27).

Music must be heard, of course, rather than talked about, but certain native distinctions and practices may be noted following the excellent study of West Coast songs by Helen Roberts and Morris Swadesh (1955:203–29). One or more master singers, men or women, existed in each high-born family for public performances in feasts and potlatches. From an early age, a child good at songs was trained by a master singer to become one. There was much prayer, fasting and memorizing. Medicines were given for a good voice and memory. Each family had its own songs for different occasions to be sung only by the family owning them, although the whole tribe might know them. Songs were inherited at birth by an eldest boy. Younger brothers had their own sets of songs but these were not the very formal **ḥâtsḥôła** songs with their associated masks that belonged to the eldest. On the other hand, the eldest son was not supposed to bear the burden of being a master singer in addition to his other duties as a leader. The master singer led off the songs with the rest joining in immediately. He beat the time with a fan of white eagle feathers held between the fingers. Before a potlatch he, or a family delegate, went around to tell the people what the gathering's songs would be, say, two or four sung in order. The night before the people gathered in the house of the potlatch giver to practise under the direction of the master singer who began by indicating the beat with his arm, from one to six beats, the first five short, the last one long. For certain songs there was part singing or "split voice" which usually was practiced first. Only men or only women might sing, some low and some high, for two parts. Men might sing in two parts while women added a higher third part, or a third and a fourth parts. Even six-part singing was done. Sometimes the drum beat was made to lag just a little behind the singing. There was often a characteristic West Coast rhythmic pattern in which a cluster of short notes was followed by one or more long tones and then another cluster of short ones which might end on a weak beat. It was common for the pitch to rise gradually during the song. A novice was taught to start with a low natural voice, then to sing higher and higher, as he grew used to the words, up to his full pitch. Songs were sung in as high and loud a voice as possible. Tunes could range over an octave but progressed by small intervals for close-knit melodies with a variety of turning movements. Most songs were plain without extra parts, like introductions or interludes, and were divided into two or three phrases. The phrases were often made up of six measures. The measure tended to be evenly subdivided, giving a smooth rhythm. Changes occurred in all these features during most songs.

Songs, **nôk**, were of many types. **t'amâ** songs were informal social ones, some ceremonial, and some family songs. They were sung at potlatches. Often they were used to request gifts or to make fun of people. New words could be made up to old tunes. **t'amâ** songs seem prettier than most others. Also informal were **kwi̓kwâła** which were lively dance songs. Gambling songs, **hâna?a**, ended as soon as a correct guess was made, but otherwise were usually sung four times. These three classes of songs were sung in chorus, sometimes in parts, and were accompanied by drumming, or beating with sticks on planks. **ts'âyiq**, or doctor songs, were sung solo with stick-beating and dancing. Novices initiated into the **ts'âyiq** doctoring society and filled with its spirit could sing the songs at once without practice. The voice was high pitched and choked, with a sad quality making everyone feel like crying. **ḥâtsḥôɬa**, or wealth display songs, were formal. Some were long with naming parts, calling out the recipients of gifts in a potlatch. Sung in chorus, but never in parts, they were accompanied by drumming. **nôkwîs**, or potlatch entry songs, may also be referred to as marching or canoe songs for they were sung while travelling to or arriving at the place of the ceremony. There was drum accompaniment. **chîschîsa** songs were used with the women's sway dancing in ceremonial displays. The **ts'îqâ** song was sung by the giver of a potlatch to boast of his wealth or tell what kind of dance display would follow while the dancers were getting ready. There were special **ts'îqa** songs for the Wolf Ritual accompanied by the drum and bird-shaped rattle. **tsitsiḥink** were very solemn chants accompanied by the bird rattle and tremelo beating with sticks or drum.

yâtyâta songs were sung when goods were being given away in a potlatch. Marriage songs, **ɬotsḥây'ak**, were also very solemn. The natural voice was used but gradually shifted to a high pitch. Doctoring songs, **tlachity'ak**, were sung only by the medicine man or his wife or helpers, as he performed his curing. He breathed on the patient as he sang, mumbling the words so that others could not make them out. A fast tremelo drum beat was used and perhaps a rattle as well. Lullabies, **ʔastimxy'ak**, were sung with a soft voice and loving feeling, generally by the mother alone. There were still more types of songs distinguished, but the foregoing should be enough to indicate the wealth of West Coast music.

Many songs would be sung by anyone, including practically all gambling songs and many **t'amâ** and **kwîkwâɬa** or popular social songs. Many others, like all wealth display songs, were owned hereditary rights or **topâti** property of families of high rank. New songs were made up or obtained from spirits, often in dreams. Striking or beautiful places like waterfalls and lakes were good for receiving songs, and some would sleep at such spots to dream. Other groups of people on the coast were another source for new compositions. Songs pervaded West Coast life whether formally in ceremonials or informally. Unfortunately their real nature can hardly be conveyed in words or pictures of the instruments or performers.

MYTHS

Several examples of West Coast myths have already been given along with comments on their nature. A few more will be given here to end the volume. As among most peoples without writing and books, not to mention more modern media, like television, story telling was a well-developed art on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. Many of the accounts were explanations of the origins of various family rights and told of the encounters of ancestors with power-giving supernatural beings. Such stories would be told within the family to pass on the historical knowledge to new generations or were recited at ceremonies to publicly validate claims to the associated hereditary rights. There were other stories which might be called popular, being known and enjoyed by all. Some of them are comparatively short, commonly featuring animal characters behaving like humans. Origin myths are often long with a number of episodes. Several characters, notably **qoʔishinm'it**, Raven, and **kwatyât**, Mink, occur repeatedly in tales featuring them and their special amusing personalities. Much of West Coast humour was of a sexual nature. Often the tales contained considerable bloody violence. West Coast myths can stand on their own as stories, so a small sample of the large stock will be given in translation, beginning with the continuation promised earlier of *How Andaokot First Came to This World* (Boas 1916:903–13).

In this second part the hero becomes **q'anixinax̣w** who transformed the animal-people into their present forms. The spelling of their names is modified from Boas, and more paragraph breaks are inserted to bring out speech which was colourfully emphasized in oral story telling.

How Andaokot First Came to This World (continued)

Andaokot then took a long rest; and after that, he told his mother to ask all his people to make a houseful of sharp-pointed arrows. Then all the **mowach'atḫ** tribe began to make sharp-pointed arrows, and it did not take them long to fill the house. One fine day Andaokot took his large bow, went out of his father's house, and asked the **mowach'atḫ** if they could see the great log **(t'ikip'itkit)** of the heavens; and not one said he could see it. Afterward Snail **(č̓inm'i)** said that he could see the great log that lay across the doorway of heaven; and then Thunderbird **(ʔawati)** said to Snail,

"Please let me have your eyes to see the great log up in heaven!" for Thunderbird was blind at that time; and the foolish Snail took his eyes out and gave them to him.

Then Thunderbird put Snail's eyes on and looked up, and he saw the log. He kept Snail's eyes, and now he can see everything; but Snail has been blind from that day until now, for he was foolish and lent his eyes to Thunderbird.

Now, Andaokot took his great yew bow and began to shoot at the log with the first arrow; and the second arrow he shot was at the nock (notched end) of the first arrow; and so on until a chain of arrows reached to the ground from the great log of heaven. Then Andaokot told his mother that he was going to see his father in heaven; so he began to climb on the long string of arrows, and it did not take him long to go up to heaven. As soon as he reached the great log, he went to the doorway; and as soon as he passed through to the upper world, he saw two blind women. They seemed to be very old; and Andaokot went toward them and took up their clover root, for they were digging it; and he stood near them for a while, to see what they would say about their brown clover root. Very soon one of them began feeling round for her clover root, but she could not find it. Then Andaokot asked her if she was blind; and she said, "We are blind, Andaokot, we can not see the face of the earth."

Then he told them that he was going to see his father, and that he would tell him about the things that needed to be put right all round the world, and that he might be sent down again by his father to put the world right hereafter. "Then I will open your eyes," he said.

Now, these two old blind women were the Mallard Ducks. Then they thanked him for what he had said to them; and they also said to him,

"Andaokot, which road will you take to go to your father's house? There are two roads. One of them is a broad road, and there are many dangerous animals on it; but on the narrow road there is only one dangerous woman. Her name is **hoksimaqas**. If she sees you, she will call you into her house, and she will feed you on brown clover root. Now, if she calls you in to eat that clover root, do not eat it, but take some of our clover root and hide it; and when she offers you her clover root, pretend to eat it, throw it way without her seeing you do so, and eat some of what I give you. Then, when you finish eating, walk out of her house and toward your father's house. Then you will be safe."

After the two old blind Duck Women had given instructions, he found and followed the narrow road. He had not gone far, when he saw a small house. A woman was standing at the door; and when he came near, the woman called him. When he was in, she told him to sit down on a mat. Then she took some brown clover root and put it on red-hot stones, and steamed it. After it was cooked, she placed it on a small mat, put it down in front of him, and said,

"You had better eat it."

Then she went out of the house. He ate the brown clover root that was given to him by the old women, but the clover root on the mat he threw into the corner of the house. After he had finished eating, he walked out of the house and went along the road.

Then he saw a house, a long way ahead. He walked up to it, and then went in. There he saw his father on a seat at the rear of the house. His father said to him,

"I am glad to see you. Come here, my son for I see that there are many things that need to be changed in the lower world. I see there are people there who look like men, but they are not men: they have the souls of animals. So I want you to go down again and put all of them to rights. Now and hereafter your name shall be **q'anixl̓nax̧w**. I want you to go down again; and now I will give you this blanket that carries the herring (**tlosmit**) and all the different kinds of salmon in it; and whenever you come to a river that you think should have some salmon in it, take two of the fishes only and put them into the river, one female and one male; and do likewise with the eulachon. Now, that is all I can say at this time. Put this blanket on and go down again."

Then **q'anixl̓nax̧w** came down to **dzâwadi**, on Knight's Inlet; and there he saw that **dzâwadi** was a good river for the eulachon; so he took all the eulachon from his blanket and put them into the river. He also took one pair of silver salmon and one pair of spring salmon, one pair of dog salmon and a pair of steelhead salmon, from his blanket, and he put them into the river; and that is why all kinds of salmon go up **dzāwadi** River. Now, he did not keep any eulachon in his blanket for the other rivers, but he put them all into this river. That is why there is no eulachon in any river except that of **dzāwadi**.

After he had put all these different kinds of fish into the river, he went on. Then he saw a house on the right-hand side of the river, and at the door stood the daughter of the owner of the house. She seemed to be very pretty, and he was the same in her sight. As soon as she saw him, she called out to him to come to her, and he went. As soon as he came up to her, she said to him,

"Come in, and you shall be my husband!" for he was really a handsome man, and she was pretty.

So he went into the house with her; and now he was married to the chief's daughter, and they lived together a long while and were very happy. The woman kept telling her husband to take care, for her father was always bad to whomever she had married before him; he always found some way of killing them. And **q’anixīnax̧w** said,

"Don't trouble about me, for he will never hurt me!"

Next morning the chief said to him,

"My son-in-law, get ready and let us go to split a log in two, for I am going to make a canoe!" and **q’anixīnax̧w** said,

"I shall be ready soon."

Then he went into his bedroom with his wife, and she told him that that log had been the death of her former husbands.

"Now take care!" she said to him, "for he will throw his stone hammer into the crack of the log, and he will tell you to get it for him; but when you go inside of the crack, he will take out the wedge and kill you, as he did my former husbands. Now, good-by, my husband!"

He walked out of the bedroom and down to the canoe. He went aboard, as did the chief, and he paddled away toward a river. They went ashore in a cove. The old man led the way up, and **q’anixīnax̧w** followed. Then they came to a large log with a crack in one end of it, and the old man took his wedges and put them into the crack. Then he began to drive his wedges with a stone hammer; and when the crack was wide enough for a man to enter, he threw the stone hammer into it. Then he said,

"Ah, my son-in-law! My stone hammer fell in. Will you go in and get it for me? I will put in a spreading-stick to keep the crack open while you are inside," and he took a round stick and put it across the crack of the great log.

After he had finished, **q’anixīnax̧w** went into it. When he was inside, the old man struck off the spreading-stick, and the crack closed on **q’anixīnax̧w**. As soon, however, as he saw his father-in-law strike off the spreading-stick, he turned himself into mucus, and it ran through the crack of the log. After the mucus had all run through, he turned himself into a man again; and he saw under the log many bones and skulls of men who had been killed in the same way as it was intended he should be killed. He also heard his father-in-law say,

"Now I am glad that I killed you, for you have brought shame on me by marrying my daughter."

He was saying this as he picked up his wedge and was leaving for home. As he neared his canoe, **q’anixīnax̧w** picked up the stone hammer and ran after him, and said,

"My father-in-law, how is it that you left me behind when you sent me to get your stone hammer? Here it is!" said he, as he gave it to him.

The old man took it, and said, "I was going to get some help to get you out of the crack after the spreading-stick jumped out."

Then **q’anixīnax̧w** went ahead of the old man to the canoe; and on the way he picked up some pieces of wood and hid them under his armpits. Then he jumped into the bow of his canoe and lay on his back, and began to carve the pieces of wood into dolphins. He made four of them. Then the old man went into the stern of the canoe and paddled away. After they were halfway across the head of the inlet, **q’anixīnax̧w** whispered to the carved dolphins,

"When I throw you into the water, you must turn into dolphins and go away for awhile; then you must come and jump on my father-in-law, and keep on jumping until he is dead."

This he said to the carved pieces of wood as he put them secretly overboard. As soon as he let them go, they all turned into fishes and began to jump away from the canoe. They went away for awhile; then they came to where the canoe was, and began to jump close to the stern. Suddenly they all jumped at the old man and killed him.

Then **q’anixīnax̧w** went home to his wife, who said to her husband,

"Where is my father?"

He answered, "Your father has gone to the place where he wanted to send me; for he tried to kill me with that log, and I made him die instead of me. I will go now and do what I have to do."

So he left her; and the first man he saw was Land Otter **(wăxnīm’it)**. He was hard at work sharpening his spear. Then **q’anixīnax̧w** asked him what he was doing; and he said,

"Who are you and where did you come from? You are the only one who doesn't seem to know that **q’anixīnax̧w** is coming to do mischief to the people of the world. Now, all are getting their fighting-spears and knives ready to fight him with."

And **q’anixīnax̧w** said,

"How will you fight him with that thing?" and he said,

"I will spear him with it."

And **q’anixīnax̧w** said, "If I were you, I would put that spear behind me, and I would fall on him backward with my full weight."

Then Land Otter said, "Take it and show me how you would put it on!"

So **q’anixīnax̧w** took the spear, and said,

“Turn your rump this way!” and Land Otter turned his rump to him.

Then **q’anixīnax̧w** stuck the spear into it, and slapped on each side of it with each hand, and said,

“Hereafter you shall be a land otter.”

Land Otter walked off for a little way. Now and then he would look back at **q’anixīnax̧w**. Then he went into the woods, and **q’anixīnax̧w** walked ahead for a while.

Then he saw Raccoon Man (**tlapisim**), who was also sharpening his spear; and **q’anixīnax̧w** asked him what he was doing. Raccoon said,

“I am sharpening my fighting-spear, to have it ready to fight **q’anixīnax̧w** when he comes to do mischief to the world.”

This he said as he rubbed a painted round stick on a rough stone. **q’anixīnax̧w** said,

“Let me see your spear!” and Raccoon gave the spear to him; and then he took it and said,

“Turn your rump this way!” and the foolish Raccoon turned his rump toward him.

“I will put this spear on your rump, for it is always best to fight backward.” said he, as he stuck the spear on Raccoon’s rump, and slapped on each side of it, and said,

“Now, you shall be a raccoon hereafter!”

Raccoon walked away slowly, and went into the woods.

q’anixīnax̧w walked along, and he saw a man with a big belly sharpening a broad flat stone. This man was Beaver Man (**ʔat’ō**). **q’anixīnax̧w** asked him what he was doing; and the man said,

“How is it that you are the only man who does not know that **q’anixīnax̧w** is come to do harm to the world? I am sharpening this stone to fight him with it.”

Then **q’anixīnax̧w** said, “Let me see your great spear, so that I may make one like it!”

Then Beaver gave the spear to him; and **q’anixīnax̧w** took it and looked at it for a while. Then he looked at Beaver, and saw that he seemed to be foolish, and did not look as if he were ready to fight. Then **q’anixīnax̧w** walked behind him and put the great flat spear on his rump, and slapped each side of it, and said,

“I am **q’anixīnax̧w**, who came down to put everything right in the world. Hereafter you shall be a beaver.”

And Beaver walked away very slowly. He would look back at **q’anixīnax̧w** and stared at him. Then he went into the woods.

Again **q’anixīnax̧w** walked on. He had not gone far, when he saw a small man sharpening his little spear. This little man was Marten (**tl’itl’iḫīt**), and he seemed to be very quick in his movements. **q’anixīnax̧w** asked him what he was doing; and Marten said to him, "Where have you come from? You must be a stranger, for you are the only man who does not know what I am sharpening my war-spear for. Don't you know that **q'anixi̍nax̧w** is coming to this world to do harm to all who are living in this place? Now, I shall get my spear ready to defend myself against him whenever he comes," said Marten; and **q'anixi̍nax̧w** said to him,

"Will you let me see your war-spear, so that I may make one just like it, and be ready to fight him when he comes?"

The little man Marten looked at him for a long while. Then he gave his spear to him; and **q'anixi̍nax̧w** took the little spear, and said,

"Now I will look at it, and I will make one to fight against **q'anixi̍nax̧w** when he comes; but I shall try to put it on you in the place I think best for it, that I may put mine there too. Now, turn your rump this way!"

Marten obeyed him; and then he stuck the spear into his rump and slapped on each side of it, and said to him,

"I am **q'anixi̍nax̧w**. Hereafter you shall be a marten; so stay in the woods and live on whatever food comes your way!"

And poor Marten walked away slowly, and went into the woods.

Then **q'anixi̍nax̧w** walked on again; and he saw another man, very stout. He was sharpening something that look like a black stone, and his look was very angry. **q'anixi̍nax̧w** went up to him, and said,

"Man, what are you doing?" and the angry-faced man said,

"Don't you know that there is a man coming, whose name is **q'anixi̍nax̧w**, to do mischief to us all? The two stone hammers I am making are to fight him with."

And **q'anixi̍nax̧w** said, "Let me see them, so that I myself may also make two of them."

And the man gave the two black stone hammers to him; and then **q'anixi̍nax̧w** took them and said,

"Let me try them on your hands!" and he stuck them on the angry-faced man, and said to him,

"Now hereafter you shall be a bear (**chims**)". And the Black Bear walked away into the woods.

q'anixi̍nax̧w kept on doing this to all the other animals until he came to **yokwät**, the place where we are living. Then he saw Deer. He went up to him, and he saw that man also hard at work sharpening two shell knives; and **q'anixi̍nax̧w** asked him what he was doing; and Deer said,

"Where have you come from, that you do not know what is known all round the world? Don't you know that **q'anixi̍nax̧w** is coming to do mischief to us all? and these two war-knives are to fight him with."

Then **q'anixi̍nax̧w** said, "How will you fight him with those two knives?" and he replied,

"I will carry one of these knives in each hand, and stab him when he comes near me."

And **q'anixi̓nax̣w** said, "Do you think you can fight him in that way? You ought at least to have one hand empty; but I think if you had both hands empty, and had those two knives tied on the top of your head, you could fight him better by catching hold of him with both hands and butting at him with the two knives on your head."

Then Deer looked at him, and asked him where he came from and who he was; and **q'anixi̓nax̣w** said,

"I am only trying to find some one to make friends with." For at that time Deer was thinking that it was **q'anixi̓nax̣w** who was speaking to him.

Then he began to rub his two large mussel-shell knives on the sandstone. Then **q'anixi̓nax̣w** spoke to him, and said,

"Deer, let me see your knives!"

Deer looking up, said in an angry way,

"I don't want you to have them, for I know that your name is **q'anixi̓nax̣w**;"

But **q'anixi̓nax̣w** only laughed, and said, "I just want to see your knives, so that I may make two of the same kind for myself to fight him with whenever he comes."

And Deer looked at him once more. Then he handed his knives to him; and as soon as Deer had given the two knives to him, he lost his power. Then **q'anixi̓nax̣w** said to him,

"Now, put your head down, and let me show you the right way to put on these two knives; then you can fight **q'anixi̓nax̣w** or anything whenever they come to fight."

This he said as he put the two mussel-shell knives on Deer's head; and he slapped him on each side. After they were on, he said:

"Hereafter you shall be a deer!"

Deer looked at him, shook his head, and walked away for a little distance; then he stopped and looked back and stared at **q'anixi̓nax̣w**; then he walked into the woods.

Then **q'anixi̓nax̣w** walked on southward; and he had not gone far, when he saw Mink **(tl'i̓tli̓ḫiyōḫ)** sharpening a short spear; and he went up to him and asked him what he was doing, and Mink said,

"Why, don't you know the news about **q'anixi̓nax̣w** coming to do mischief to us all in this world? I am making this spear to defend myself against him."

Then **q'anixi̓nax̣w** said, "Let me have your spear, for I want to see how it is made!"

Mink gave the spear to him; and as soon as **q'anixi̓nax̣w** took the spear, he said,

"Turn your rump this way, so that I may fix it for you."

And right away the foolish Mink obeyed, turning his rump towards **q'anixi̓nax̣w**. Then the latter stuck the spear on his rump, and it was made into a tail instead of a spear. Then **q'anixi̓nax̣w** slapped on each side of it, and said to him,

"I am **q'anixi̓nax̣w**. Turn into a mink for the generations to come!"

> And the little mink ran away into the woods without turning round to look at **q'anixi̍nax̣w**.
>
> Then **q'anixi̍nax̣w** walked again, and he saw a man and woman with their private parts on their foreheads; and he went up to them, and asked them if they could breed as they were. Then the man said,
>
> "I have tried to make her pregnant, but without success."
>
> Then **q'anixi̍nax̣w** said, "I know that the people in the world will be all gone if no change is made."
>
> So he put the man's privates in the place where they are now, and he put the woman's secret parts also in the right place. After he had finished, he told the man to try to make his wife pregnant, and she immediately became so. Then **q'anixi̍nax̣w** left them.
>
> Then he came to a place where he thought that he had better make man. He took from the beach a piece of wood and carved from it a man's and a woman's image. After he had finished carving them, he spat on them, one man said, and another man said he breathed on them, and brought them to life. After he gave the life, he told them how to live, and then he went on southward. This is all that is said about him. This story ends now. (Boas 1916:907–13).

The part, towards the end, about "redesigning" a couple, may seem out of place, but it was evidently a part of the Transformer myth as recorded from the **mowach'atḥ** for Boas by the very able Kwakiutl ethnographer, George Hunt. The repetition of the same statements and actions with each animal that the Transformer meets was not boring for the West Coast listeners but rather the reverse. The people were far closer to nature than most of us and each animal featured was much better known and meaningful. Children would never have gotten tired of hearing how each creature was tricked in turn by the Transformer into having its weapon stuck on to become an animal part.

The next story, also recorded by Hunt, features that favourite comic character of the North Pacific area, the tricky greedy Raven, **qoˀishinm'it**. The piece of quartz mentioned is the supernatural crystal, **ḥi̍n'a**, regarded as a valuable possession full of mysterious power and displayed in ceremonials like the Wolf Ritual. A Raven story, set in their most important ceremonial event, was very funny, of course, for the West Coasters.

How the Raven Was in the Woods for a **tlōkwāna** *Dance at* **yokwāt**.

> Once up a time there lived a man whose name was Raven (**qoˀishinm'it**), of a tribe belonging to the **ts'awi̍n'atḥ**, one of the brother tribes of the **mowach'atḥ** at **yokwāt**. Raven had a wife whose name was Sea Egg (**pāshḥak**). It was in the winter-time, and the **mowach'atḥ** tribe were talking about having a winter-dance, or **tlōkwāna** dance. After they had stopped talking about the **tlōkwāna** dance—how they would appear in the village—a number of young men went at night into the woods to howl like wolves, to give notice to the people that the winter-dance, or **tlōkwāna**, was coming to bring

the dance to the people. Now, this notice has to be howled, as wolves howl, three different nights, so as to get everybody ready for the fourth night; for the wolves come to the door of the **tlōkwāna** dancing-house and throw in the ball of **tlōkwāna**, or dance-giver, or, in Kwakiutl, "ball of quartz." This ball is said to strike whatever girl (or boy) is going to dance the **tlōkwāna**. Then she pretends to be dead until all the people come to sing their secret songs. Then she comes to life again.

As soon as Raven heard the wolves howl the first notice of the dance, however, he disappeared; and his people did not like it, for he was always doing something that did not please them; and of course his disappearance on the first notice of the winter-dance made them feel very bad. Then all the people were called into a house, and also one of the speakers of Chief Woodpecker. After all the people had come in, he said,

"We are not pleased with what Raven has done in breaking the rules of our old custom regarding the **tlōkwāna** dance, for he disappeared before the fourth night of the wolves' howling, and he ought also to have given notice to all the chief men of what he had done. Now, we shall leave this village, and go to Deep Bay **(kōptĭ)** to have our **tlōkwāna** dance."

All the people were pleased with what their chief said. The first thing they did was to push their canoes **(ch'apats)** into the salt water, and to take whatever things they wanted. Then they all left the village and went to Deep Bay; and then they had to give the second notice of the **tlōkwāna** dance on coming there.

On the fourth day Raven thought that he had been in the woods long enough; so he came out at the west corner of **yokwāt**, and began to sing this song:

"All you, my friends, listen to me! for I will call you all to come and get me out of the woods. I have seen enough of the **tlōkwāna** dance, and I am truly hungry."

While he was singing, he was standing on a rock, naked. The only thing he had on was a wreath of hemlock branches round his neck and head. He had a piece of ice about two feet long and a foot wide. This piece of ice was supposed to be quartz. When his wife heard him singing, she went out of the house and said to him,

"Don't sing any more! You had better come home, for there is no one in the village to go and bring you out of the woods. They have all gone to Deep Bay to have their **tlōkwānā** dance there."

After she had finished speaking, he started home; and the first thing he said to his wife was that he was hungry. Then she fed him; and when he had finished eating, he said to his wife,

"Don't you think it is best for us to go to Deep Bay and join our friends?"

His wife, however, said, "No, for it was you who made them leave this place, because you disappeared before the fourth notice was given by the wolves, and that is why Chief Woodpecker called our people into his house and told them to go and leave you here."

Raven said, "You may say whatever you like, and you can stay here, but I am going to Deep Bay and join my friends." and he picked up a paddle and went out of the house, down to the beach, where his canoe was.

Then he pushed the canoe down to the salt water; and when he got it into the water, Sea Egg saw that her husband meant to go where his friends were; so she took what things she thought she would want, and went down to the canoe to her husband. In a very short time they arrived at Deep Bay, for it is not far from **yokwāt**.

After Raven had arrived at Deep Bay, a man went to all the houses to call every man by name to go into his house to eat steamed salmon (**sōḥā**); but Raven's name was not called, and it made him feel very bad. He said to himself, "I will say that I am a great shaman." and when all the people had gone into the feasting-house, he took hemlock branches and made one wreath for his head, and one for his neck. Then he put them on and began to sing his shaman's secret song; and these are the words of it:

"I am a shaman now, to heal the sick people, instead of **tlōkwānā**, or Wolf Dancer; and whenever I dance, I can go under the floor, where no one can go, and I will show it to you all."

He left his house, singing, as he went to the feasting-house; and of course all the people became frightened, for they believed that he was really a shaman and could kill anyone whenever he liked.

As soon as they heard him coming towards the feasting-house, each took a baton to beat time, for now they were waiting for the salmon to get cooked on the red-hot stones in the middle of the house, and it was all covered with mats to keep the steam in. Just before it was uncovered, Raven came into the house singing, and all the people began to beat time. Just before he went round the heap of cooking salmon, he disappeared and went through the floor. He had not been down long, when he appeared on one side of the heap of cooking salmon. In a short time he went down a second time, and again came up and went round the heap once more. He then disappeared the third time; and again he came up, but only showed himself. He went down the fourth time. This time he stayed down longer than usual; and when he came up, he was singing. Then he went out of the house; and after he went out, all the feasting people said,

"Let us uncover the mats, for the salmon is cooked now!"

When they uncovered the mats, they found that all the salmon had been eaten by Raven, and that he had put many sticks to keep the mats up in the shape of the cooking salmon; and all the people were very angry with Raven, for he had gotten the best of them once more. All the people had to go out of their feasting-house hungry. That ends the story. (Boas 1916:933–35).

The other West Coast trickster, **kwatyāt**, appears in the next story in his lonely social position as a slave to Chief Woodpecker. Involved at the beginning is Woodpecker's wife, **!āwīp!īkwas** or Sparrow-daughter, a bird who is supposed to say **"qawi"** or "Salmonberry", thus creating the berries by her singing. The Thunderbirds mentioned were four in number, the oldest being **totōtsh** or Thundering-now-and-then. There are, as usual, some interesting details in this story like the ancient hoop-spearing game played by hunters the world over and the diving canoes of the Whales. This West Coast tale like many others was also known among the Kwakiutl. The present version was collected from the **ts'ishāʔatḫ** like the two that follow.

Red-headed Woodpecker and the Thunderbirds

The Thunderbirds were going to play the hoop game and went to **m'aʔaqōʔa,** where Woodpecker lived. They came from **ḫōchoqtlis**. Woodpecker invited those who were to play the hoop game to a feast. Woodpecker's wife took out her salmonberry dish. And then Awipikwas prepared salmonberries.

"Qawi qawi qawi qawi qawi", said she, and the berry dish filled up. The hoop-players were looking at her. And then the oldest Thunderbird fell in love with the woman. She passed him where he was eating salmonberries, and he squeezed her ankle.

After eating, they got ready; the Thunderbirds got ready to start the hoop game and their men gathered together. Black Bear, who was their hoop-thrower, was their first man to play. And Crane too was of those first on the level ground, he who was the best marksman in spearing. And also Woodpecker had his man who was best of all in marksmanship. And he had Kingfisher for spearing, and his hoop-thrower was **kwatyāt**. They were finished taking their places and got ready for the hoop game.

The Thunder people were the first to throw the hoop; it was Black Bear, the strong one, who threw the hoop. And at the same time that he threw the hoop, the Thunderbirds made hail and made lightning, so that the hoop was lost to sight. The only one who could see it was Kingfisher, the sharp-eyed one. He speared, and his spear-point came off and stuck in the hoop. Then it was the turn of Woodpecker's hoop-thrower. **kwatyāt**, the one of many tricks, set the hoop going. And then he said, blowing into his hoop to give it power,

"Get small, get small!" and the hoop became small at once.

Crane, the marksman, missed his aim. Black Bear in his turn set the hoop going again, and **kwatyāt** again blew magic into it. "Grow big, grow big." said he, and the hoop got big.

Again Kingfisher's spear remained stuck in it. Four times they rolled the hoop on each side. Kingfisher's spear never missed. The Thunderbird people were beaten. They finished.

And then **totōtsh** was angry and he made a great hail and lightning. Woodpecker did not know that his wife was being taken away; Thunder took her along with him as he flew back to his home.

Woodpecker could not find his wife. He took his slave, **kwatyāt**, and they deliberated.

"Now! You will look for my wife, whom I have lost."

He went to the ones who had come to play the hoop game, **kwatyāt** went to them.

"I want you to be green salmonberry shoots," said Woodpecker to him, so **kwatyāt** turned into green salmonberry shoots. The former wife of Woodpecker went out to gather young salmonberry bushes. The shoots were discovered, they were recognized to be **kwatyāt**, the one to do all kinds of tricks. She was afraid of him. **kwatyāt** returned to the place that he had come from.

"She was afraid of me," he said.

"Go back!" he was told again. "You shall turn into a salmonberry. Be small!"

Again he went where he was sent. The woman who had been run away with went out again to look for salmonberries. The salmonberry too was noticed; it was very big. Again it was recognized that it was **kwatyāt**, and again she was afraid of him. Once more he returned home and told this chief.

"She is afraid of me," said he.

kwatyāt was made to stop going.

It became the time for the run of salmon, and he himself went off to where there was the salmon trap of him who had deprived him of his wife. He was a nice little young spring salmon in the trap. Thunderbird went to see his trap. He had his wife along in his canoe. He got there, and the little spring salmon was discovered. He threw it, giving it to his wife, and she took it. The little young spring salmon spoke.

"It is I, your husband Woodpecker. Eat me all alone, won't you? And then you shall throw my left over bones into the water." said he.

Thunderbird, who had come to see about this trap, turned back home and they arrived at their home. She roasted the little spring salmon on a spit. Her salmon was roasted and she ate it all by herself. She finished eating and threw the bones into the water just as she had been told to throw them. She kept walking out farther and farther into the water.

"Say! Stop going and putting them so far out in the water." she said to those who were sitting on the beach and watching.

She had got far out in the water and she went right in. Woodpecker took her along with him. He had got her and returned home.

"Now!" said he, "Go and borrow Whale's diver." this was told to **kwatyāt**. He borrowed it.

"I shall have my revenge," said Woodpecker, "on the one by whom I was deprived of my wife."

He went out to sea and got into the diver. He took along his slave, and off they went to where lived the Thunderbird people. It was early in the morning when they arrived. The whale came up out of the water. The people who were sitting and looking saw him.

“Go, some of you, and wake up Catching-such-whales-as-come-out-once-in-a-while, so he may seize the whale in his claws.”

He approached to get hold of the whale but he was unable to lift him. Goes-out-once-to-sea came under to help his older brother, but they could not lift him up. There was in the canoe-whale the one who knew many tricks, **kwatyāt**.

“Get heavy, get heavy.” said **kwatyāt**.

And the whale grew heavy. The two of them could not lift him up. Between their talons they were all cut up into slits by Woodpecker.

Now came the time to help the next to youngest Thunderbird too. He too took hold of the whale but, like them, he could not do much with his claws. Also Thundering-now-and-then went to help his younger brothers, but one spoke,

“Don't you go! You alone shall remain alive. There is something wrong with us, it appears; we are as though our limbs were dying.”

“Get heavy, get heavy! Get big, get big!”

And the whale grew heavy. All the brothers together sank into the water; all died. The oldest, Thundering-now-and-then, was the only one to remain alive. Woodpecker had his revenge on them, who had wronged him in taking away his wife. Woodpecker returned home, bringing back Whale's diver. This is how he had his revenge, and it is for this reason that only one Thunderbird is left alive. (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:51, 53, 55.)

“**kwatyāt's** *Mother Moved, It Is Said*”.

kwatyāt's mother moved, it is said, in her canoe and arrived at Bluff-standing-big-in-the-water (at that part of Alberni Canal now known as Hell's Gate). And then she was swallowed, together with her canoe, by him who was fond of eating movers, a sea monster.

Now then **kwatyāt** found out that his mother had been swallowed, so he went out to pray for power to rescue his mother who had been swallowed. Then he made a box for boiling, poured in water, and built a fire on which stones were heated; then he put out the fire, dropped the stones into the box, and the water started to boil. And then **kwatyāt** jumped into the box, of which the water was as hot as was the inside of Canoe-swallower. Once again he got into the boiling-box. His brother **t'īxt'iyapixin** came near and said

“Let me straddle your hips!”

He stayed inside a little longer this time, and came out of the box again. The water was as hot in the box as was the inside of Canoe-swallower. He was finished. Then he made a spear in order to rescue his mother who had been swallowed. Now he got ready. He had many mussel-shell knives, which were to be used for cutting up the inside parts of the monster, when he was to be inside his body; besides these he had a sharp-pointed wooden spear of young fir, so that he might cause it to be stuck in his throat when he was to be swallowed down—a stick such as is used to lay across two canoes.

Now the two brothers paddled off in their canoe. They went to where their mother had been swallowed down. There they arrived and started to sing,

"Come up out of the water, you who are wont to swallow those that move past in a canoe, who have your intestines curled up behind you! Ha ha, guts! Ha ha, guts!"

Both brothers danced as they sang, taking turns in dancing and beating time. The monster did not come up out of the water.

When they started in to sing again, the surface of the water was calm, but now bubbles began to come up out of the water and, as they bubbled up, grew bigger and bigger, and the water began to stir upward in waves. They began to circle around in their canoe, and **kwatyāt** said,

"Paddle so as to keep it straight!"

Now the sea ran in a current, the waves grew bigger and bigger, the water whirled about like a whirlpool. As it turned out, they were moved around, and it was the spirit that was fond of devouring those that moved past in a canoe that caused them to do thus. The sea ran in a current and was now about to open up—**kwatyāt** and his brother were about to be swallowed down. The monster came up out of the water with his mouth wide open; they were swallowed now and went right down his throat clean down to his stomach. Then he settled down under the water.

Then **kwatyāt** began to move around; he took his knife and started to cut inside of the monster, and cut off his heart. **t'īxt'iyapixin** moved around too, and cut up all the insides; it was because of his mother who had been lost that he did this. Whatever was inside of him was all cut to pieces, they cut him all up. **kwatyāt** heard how he moved around; while he was inside of the monster, he moved up out of the water, twice he moved up out of the water. Then he drifted ashore on the beach at Long Beach.

The Chiton was the first to get to the beach, with his round back up along side the stranded monster on the beach. All kinds of animals heard about it, and everybody came. Then they began to cut his intestines, which they were bent on getting; the Chiton was the first to get intestines. All kinds of animals came to get intestines. Then **kwatyāt** spoke,

"Look out lest you cut us without seeing what you're doing!"

All ran off frightened; those who were cutting were filled with terror. **kwatyāt** and **t'īxt'iyapixin** came out from inside.

"Bald-headed, sure enough, is **t'īxt'iyapixin!** Ahahaha!" said **kwatyāt**, laughing at his younger brother.

"Bald-headed, sure enough, is **t'īxt'iyapixin**! Ahahaha!"

He was bald-headed too, but did not know that he was. They became bald-headed for this reason, that they had not bathed their heads in hot water when training in the cooking-box. (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:37, 39).

Perhaps it should be explained that before getting the intestines of the sea monster, the animal-people had none. Since Chiton was first, he has the longest intestines (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:218 n. 119). The last story to be given is a bit of fantasy about a dispute between the Lice people and the Wolf people over deer.

A Fight Between the Chiefs of the Lice and the Wolves About Hunting Grounds.

The chief of the Lice people was a stalker and hunter of deer. Louse had a certain place where he always did his stalking and this place was well stocked with deer. Louse would always bring two out of the woods on his back. The chief of the Wolf people likewise used to go stalking, but he did not find anything. The chief of the Wolf people, who was called **t'it'īchaqyo**, did not get any deer. Louse would go stalking, and he would bring two deer on his back. **t'it'īchaqyo** would bring nothing out of the woods.

t'it'īchaqyo started spying to see where Louse was always getting many deer. He saw him going along there again with two deer on his back. So he started out early. He went where Louse had come from and actually got two deer. Louse again went stalking in his hunting place and caught nothing. **t'it'īchaqyo** hunted again and once more got two. He would start out early while it was still night. He would be the first to start out. Louse would start out last and for that reason always found no deer at his hunting ground, though it was well stocked. Louse ceased to get deer because **t'it'īchaqyo** got ahead of him each time. He returned empty-handed when he hunted; only **t'it'īchaqyo** brought two deer out of the woods.

Louse found out that only **t'it'īchaqyo** was bringing two deer out of the woods. He was angry. He said to himself that he would kill **t'it'īchaqyo**. He started out early while it was still night. He lay in wait and did not have to be there long. **t'it'īchaqyo** appeared with two deer on his back. At once Louse shot and hit him under the armpit. The chief died. He died instantly. Louse dug in the ground and buried his victim after first cutting off his tail. He covered him up. He took upon his back the two deer that he had got by violence. He came out of the woods. Then he feasted his commoners.

t'it'īchaqyo did not come out of the woods. Another day came and still he had not come out of the woods. The Wolf people began searching for their chief. They were excited. The keen-scented band went about smelling, but did not find him. The chief Louse tied about his head the tail that had belonged to **t'it'īchaqyo**. He went about with it tied around his head.

"Damn it, I say! Louse is wearing about his head the former tail of the one talked about as dead; he is wearing around his head the former tail of **t'it'īchaqyo**, the people, the neighbors of Louse, began saying.

The tribe began talking of Louse having been seen wearing **t’it’ìchaqyo’s** tail tied about his head. The Wolf people found out that Louse had tied about his head the tail of the one whom they were unable to find, their former chief. They got excited. They gathered the tribe together to consider how they would take revenge.

“Well, let’s attack.” said the warriors of the Wolf people.

The Louse people heard that they were to be attacked by the Wolf people. Louse also gave a feast and collected his commoners. The chief spoke and said,

“Well, let us dance into the house of those who are about to attack us, let us anticipate them.”

“Very well, let us do so.” said the commoners.

“Let us each carry a bow and arrow.” said the chief.

Then the chief began making a song and deciding what his entrance song would say. The Wolf people in turn heard that they were going to come dancing to their house. The Wolf warriors, the Fond-of-bones band, likewise assembled and sharpened their teeth. The Wolf people gathered in one house, they went to the house of their former chief.

“O warriors, stand at the door.” they said.

The Louse people came to a decision and started off. All were ready, holding bow and arrow. The Louse people would whoop,

“Waaa yiii, waaa yiii hiii.” the Louse people said, whooping. They whooped again in front of the house.

“Haaa yiii”, they said.

Those rascals of lice started their song.

“Haha **t’it’ìchaqyo** hiyhiy, whom I have come for, hiyhiy come for.” said their song.

Louse pretended to come for the one whom he had killed. The Louse people started dancing into the house; they all had their bows bent and pointed their arrows in the faces of the ones in the house. The Wolf people were angry at what was being said about their former chief in the song. The chief of the Louse people was in the middle as they filed dancing into the house. He entered the house and there he was, sure enough, with **t’it’ìchaqyo’s** tail around his head. And now the Wolf people were angrier than ever, because they saw that it really was **t’it’ìchaqyo’s** tail that the chief of the Louse people had around his head. The wolves were standing packed close all around the house.

All the Louse people came dancing into the house and the chief, with the tail around his head, reached the rear of the house. There too he continued dancing.

“Comrades, let us now bite them!” said the Wolf people.

Each singling out the one before him, they bit at them on the floor. The wolves were just as though they had collapsed, because they bent forward to bite at them on the floor. They bit nothing, but got their mouths full of dirt because they only bit into the dirt floor. The Louse people turned into lice and jumped through the spaces between the teeth. None was even grazed from biting.

"Ah ah ah." said the Wolf people who were choked with dust, each with his mouth full of dirt.

"Haa yii, haa yii hii." said the Louse people.

"I have pity for you, I would have set you all on end if I had wanted to; I would have bitten into your hearts." said one of the lice and, having said that, they left.

They yelled and went home.

"We really cannot get the better of them. Let us just let it go." said one of the wolves. (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:85, 87, 89.)

☆ ☆ ☆

APPENDIX I
Spelling Indian Words in English

West Coast speech differs considerably from English but, to help bridge the gap, I have followed English spelling habits, where possible, for these consonants (stops and affricates),

p t ch ts tl k kw q qw

and these nasal and semivowel sounds,

m n w y.

In the Southern West Coast dialect, or "Nitinat", the nasal **m** and **n** are the voiced stops **b** and **d.** The foregoing sounds can be "glottalized", or pronounced wth a catch of breath which is suddenly released for an explosive "cracked" intonation. This glottalization is marked by an apostrophe, giving the following series,

p' t' ch' ts' tl' k' kw' q' qw' m' n' w' y'.

The **q** and **qw** are made deeper in the throat than the **k** and **kw.**

Other special sounds made "back in the throat" are the glottal stop, which is a catch of breath like that in the middle of saying "uh-huh", and the laryngealized glottal stop, made still farther back, toward the larynx, and represented by ʔ and ʕ respectively.

Of these, the first may be made on a typewriter by filing the dot off the question mark; for the other the comma is simply typed above the period.

There are other consonants in West Coast speech—the so-called fricative or "rubbed" sounds. These have no glottalized counterparts because they do not involve the necessary closure of breath stream. So we have the following:

sh s ƚ x xw x̣ x̣w h ḥ.

The **ƚ** is barred with the hyphen to show that it is different from the usual English **l** since the breath is made to slip around the sides of the tongue while its tip touches the roof of the mouth just behind the front teeth, somewhat as for the **thl** in athlete. In the Southern West Coast dialect, in addition to **ƚ**, there is a lateral **l,** but it occurs infrequently. The dot placed under **x̣**, **x̣w** and **ḥ** indicates that these sounds are made farther back "in the throat" than **x**, **xw** and **h.** The difference between **x** and **x̣** is like that between the last sound in ich and ach in German. As for **ḥ**, a common West Coast sound, although often replaced by the equally common **x̣** in the Southern dialect, this sound can only be described as an **h** made really far back. Scots who say loch the right way can more-readily learn the "back in the throat" sounds so characteristic in West Coast speech.

Lastly we come to the vowels for which only three, plus vowel lengthening, need be distinguished. The long vowels are indicated by a bar, or macron, over the letter, which is a raised hyphen when typewritten (with French keyboards the circumflex can be utilized).

i ī a ā o ō.

The **i** is formed high in the mouth, at the front, as in meet, or lower, as in met, depending on certain linguistic rules. Similarly the back vowel **o** may be high as in boot but with the lips more rounded as in boat, or, more rarely, lower, as in words borrowed from English like **pōstin** for Boston, used to refer to Americans, or **pōyisin**, poison.

So we have distinguished 30 sounds required to write the West Coast language in its Northern and Central, or "Nootka", dialect, and, for Southern, with its extra **l**, 31 sounds. The Southern dialect also uses **b** and **d** in place of the Northern **m** and **n**, and, often, **x̣** instead of **ḥ** at the end of words. The Makah dialect of Cape Flattery shares, with Southern, or Nitinat, these differences from Nootka. There are other differences in vocabulary such as the special contractions of sounds which make Nitinat and Makah similar. My orthography is a slightly modified version of that given by Thomas and Arima (1970), with the long vowels marked by a raised bar or circumflex, for compactness and clarity, as in Thomas's excellent handwritten practice, while pre-glottalization of **m, n, w, y** is no longer distinguished since it is not significant (*cf.* Sapir 1963:55–58).

I apologize for being unable to explain the rendering of West Coast speech in writing in a simpler way, but am confident that with the given key it is possible to gain a fair idea of how the native terms are pronounced. All are given in the Northern and Central dialect unless noted otherwise by bracketed initials, e.g., (S) for Southern Dialect.

Additional Reading

There are few, good, readable accounts of the West Coast people and, except for John Jewitt's account of his captivity at Nootka Sound, few of these are widely available. Hopefully, some of the others, listed below, will be reprinted.

A good view of the people, with detailed native accounts and photographs, is Edward S. Curtis' *The Nootka* which first appeared as volume two of *The North American Indian*, a series published by Curtis in Norwood, Mass. in 1916. It was subsequently reprinted, in 1970, by Johnson Reprint Corporation of New York and London. The basic ethnographic work on West Coast society and culture is Philip Drucker's *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes*, Bulletin 144 of the U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, published in 1951 by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Drucker concentrated on the groups from Barkley Sound northwest. Unfortunately, this standard source is not common outside of academic libraries.

A most exciting story, one which also provides a good picture of West Coast life at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is John Jewitt's *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt, Only survivor of the crew of the ship Boston, during a capivity of nearly three years among the savages of Nootka Sound*. Actually written by Richard Alsop, and based on interviews with Jewitt, the "Narrative" appeared in various editions from Little, Boston, 1815 (subsequently reprinted by Garland of New York and London in 1976), to Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield, Washington, 1967, to McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1974. A shorter journal, kept by Jewitt, is included in the Garland edition.

Maquinna the Magnificent, by Bruce A. McKelvie, is a popular biography of the **mowach'atḥ** chief who became well known to white visitors to Friendly Cove. It is highly readable, informative, and drawn from records left by Cook, Martinez, Meares, Moziño and others. Scarce, but likely to be reprinted, is Gilbert Malcolm Sproat's excellent description of the West Coast people made as colonization began at Alberni in 1860. It was published in 1868, by Smith, Elder of London under the title *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*.

Hunters of the Whale, An Adventure in Northwest Coast Archaeology, by Ruth Kirk, with Richard D. Daugherty, is a well-illustrated, popular account of the excavation, at Ozette, of houses buried by a mud slide five centuries ago. This book was published by William Morrow, New York, in 1974.

Finally, there is the picture book *The Nootkan Indian, A Pictorial*, by John Sendey, a collection of early drawings and more recent photographs, published by the Alberni Valley Museum, Port Alberni, in 1977.

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